A

DISCOURSE

Concerning the

NATURE, ADVANTAGE, AND IMPROVEMENT OF TRADE:

WITH

Some Conſiderations

Why the Charges of the POOR do and will Increaſe.

By *P. PAXTON*, M. D.

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THE PREFACE.

FEW Subjects in this preſent Age have been more talked of, and few, perhaps, leſs underſtood than that of Trade: the firſt ſeems to be occaſioned from that general Influence it now hath upon the Fortunes and Eſtates of Men, moſt Perſons being too apt, in their Diſcourſes, to entertain others with what concerns themſelves; but the ſecond from an eager Deſire of gathering Wealth, by which Men are more inclined to conſult their own Advantages, than to puzzle their Thoughts about publick and unprofitable Knowledge. It is from this Reaſon, that notwithſtanding the Advantages of private Trade are ſo thoroughly underſtood, yet what relates

to the Publick remains in a manner neglected.

Beſides, there does not, methinks, appear ſo many Difficulties to fathom the Myſteries, and to diſcover the advantageous Secrets of private and particular Trade, as to diſcourage Men from the proſecution of it; whereas to form a juſt Idea of Trade, as it relates to the Good and Welfare of the Nation, requires a large compaſs of Thought; and to judge of its Advantages and Improvements, an exact and unprejudiced Judgment: By reaſon to perform the firſt, our Enquiries muſt be carried to the remoteſt parts of the Globe, thereby to learn the Nature of the Climes, Countries, the Circumſtances and Methods of Living of the ſeveral People with whom we trade: And to do the laſt, we muſt have a Knowledge of our own Laws, Cuſtoms, and Uſages, the Differences in the Manner of Living amongſt our ſelves, and the Proportions between Money and Goods here, and in our Neigh-

Neighbouring Countries. And not only this, but we ought to consider the variety of Relations which we have to our Neighbours, and the mutual Dependencies that are between them and us; how that Trade being made by mutual Consent, cannot be continued but by mutual Advantages; and therefore cannot well be limited or confined by Laws on one side, without a Loss of it to the other, and a Ruin of it to both.

If therefore, in the handling of this knotty and perplexed Subject, I have departed from the common Roads; or if I have slighted some received Opinions; or if I have disproved some modern Practices; or, if I have shewed the Inefficacy and Inconsistency of some of our present Laws in relation to Trade; this hath not been done out of a Vanity in affecting Novelty, but purely from a Zeal in the pursuit of what I take to be Truth.

Beaufort-Street,
May 3. 1704.

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Concerning

TRADE.

THE Uſe of a Money, or ſome Subſtance, to be a *Standard* or *common Meaſure* for the Value of all things that are in uſe amongſt Men, ſeems entirely neceſſary, for the Continuance of Peace, OEconomy, and Order in Society; in that neither the differences in the *Qualities*, *Eſtates*, and *Fortunes* of Men, that Government naturally makes, or neceſſarily produces; nor the Bartering nor Exchanging Goods, which the Neceſſities or Conveniencies of Men require, are not to be made or continued without it. I ſhall not dwell upon ſhewing the Reaſons of theſe things, having already done it, in a late Tract entitled *Civil*

Money neceſſary to Government.

Civil Polity; to which I refer my Reader, if he deſires any Satisfaction about the Truth of theſe Matters.

Money *the Wealth of Men, and brought from* Spain.

Taking it then for granted, that the Uſe of a Money is inſeparable from Government, and Money being what will be taken in Exchange for any other thing, is therefore *the Wealth of Men*; it will follow that People or Nation that hath moſt Money, may by that procure whatſoever is uſeful for Pleaſure, Peace, or Power. For this reaſon all wiſe Governments cultivate and encourage the moſt promiſing Methods to procure and increaſe Wealth. Silver and Gold (but more particularly Silver) by the Conſent of Men, is become this Money; that is, Theſe Metals are now *the Wealth of moſt known Nations:* but theſe not being found in *Europe*, but brought from *America*, and that part of the Globe in the Poſſeſſion of *Spain*, and other Nations not being permitted to trade there, the greateſt quantities of Silver that are brought into *Europe* come by the way of *Spain*. If *Spain* then could keep theſe Treaſures, ſhe might, by their aſſiſtance, give Laws to the Univerſe: But a ſcarcity of People, want of Induſtry and a due OEconomy in that Government, has rendred the preſent ſtate of that Kingdom ſo miſerably

rably wretched, that its Inhabitants ſtand indebted to other People for the *Conveniencies and very Neceſſaries of Life*: by which means the Wealth of their *Indies* is continually drained from them, in that they are neceſſitated to buy theſe things of Strangers; *Spain* being only the Pipe through which the Treaſure of the *Indies* paſſes into other Countries. *England*, by ſupplying *Spain* with ſuch Goods as are there wanted, has come in for a part of this Wealth: but the many and differing Trades we have made with other Nations, hath ſo divided and diſperſed this Treaſure gained from *Spain*, that there doth not remain with us ſuch plenty as might be expected from ſo advantageous a Trade. And if in Times of Peace we have traded for little Advantage, what Misfortunes muſt we fall into, when by a War all Correſpondence is broke, and Trade loſt with that Nation; and when, at the ſame time, the maintaining our Armies abroad muſt likewiſe drain us.

Loſs by Trade, how regulated.

The Misfortunes we labour under, by the carrying out of our Money for the Payment of our Army, will not, I doubt, during the War, permit of a Remedy; but the Loſſes we ſuſtain by Trade will, if we could but fall into proper Methods: for if

the Exports of our own Goods, let them be either the Growth of our Country, or Produce of Labour, were but equal in value to the Imports or Goods we receive from abroad and conſume here, our Trade then could not drain us of Money.

Trade either Forein or Domeſtic.

Trade, in the general, is a Bartering or Exchanging Goods for Goods, or Money for Goods; and is either Forein or Domeſtic. Forein Trade is, when this is made between Men of differing Countries; Domeſtic, when this is between Perſons of the ſame. The firſt properly concerns the Public, in that the Body Politic either nouriſhes or waſtes by it; but the laſt only particular Men, in that being managed between Members of the ſame Body, the Wealth of the Nation is neither increaſed nor leſſened by it.

Reaſons of Forein Trade.

The great Inequalities in the Fortunes and Conditions of Men, and the marvellous Differences in the methods and manner of Living that may be obſerved between Men, in all rich and flouriſhing Governments, hath naturally introduced the Uſe of a great variety of forein and exotic Goods; ſome of which, by Uſe or by Nature, are become ſo extremely pleaſing, that Men will not, or cannot ſubſiſt contentedly without them: and therefore being

ing thus ſought after, are continually imported.

Deſire of Wealth the Motive to Trade.

The Deſire of Wealth, that ſeems engrafted in moſt Mens Natures that live in flouriſhing Countries, puts them upon the purſuit of ſuch Methods as are moſt promiſing for the procuring it. The great Value and Eſteem that *State or Uſage* puts upon forein Goods, becomes an Occaſion why divers Men, who are deſirous of growing rich, do apply themſelves to forein Trade, that being a proper Method whereby to acquire it: But Forein Goods are not to be procured in Trade but by an Exchange either of Goods or Money: If by Goods, the Trader may gain; but his Country cannot well loſe: but if by Money, he may, it's true, gain; but his Country muſt loſe, in that then he carries out the Money, which is the Nation's Wealth, and therefore the public Loſs: But the *Merchant who only trades to enrich himſelf*, doth therefore purchaſe forein Goods, either with his *Country Goods or Money*, according to the Profit he can beſt make by either of them: If he does this with Money, he may enrich himſelf, but muſt then impoveriſh his Country, in that he carries away ſo much Silver, and returns only Goods; which being conſumed there, is a Loſs to

his Country, equal to the Silver he carried out: for, notwithſtanding the *Merchant may as well gain by Goods as Silver*; yet the *Nation can only gain by Silver*, in that Money is really and ultimately the Wealth of Men; Goods only being a Wealth as they may be reduced into Silver; Silver being the Subſtance that will be taken for all other things: for notwithſtanding Gold is eſteemed a Money, yet the Value of Gold is meaſured by Silver. But ſince no Trade can continue unleſs the Merchant gains, and ſince it is better to have none than the Nation loſe; it ſeems therefore to become the Wiſdom of Government to make theſe two Intereſts, *viz.* Private and Public, that is, the Merchant's and the Nation's, the ſame: becauſe without the firſt Trade cannot flouriſh, and without the laſt it is not fit it ſhould. And to do this there is but one thing required, *viz.* That the Goods that we Export may be Good and Cheap; for then the Merchant being able to make the greateſt Advantage by Goods, will therefore Export them, and not Money: and this will be the Nation's Gain.

What Goods traded for.

But before I deſcend to ſhew the Methods of making our own native Goods cheap, in order to advance our Forein Trade,

Trade, for the Nation's Advantage; it will be neceſſary for the eaſier underſtanding that, to premiſe ſomewhat of the general Nature and different Kinds of Goods that are Exchanged or Traded for between differing People. And theſe may not unfitly be reduced to two ſorts.

Firſt, Such as relate to the Conveniency or are uſed for the Subſiſtence of Men.

Or, Secondly, ſuch as are only uſed for Pleaſure, Luxury, or Vanity.

The firſt ſort are not vendible unleſs cheap, in that their Conſumption is for common and ordinary uſe.

The ſecond ſort are valuable by being ſcarce. To make the firſt cheap, is to make them marketable; to make the laſt cheap, is to make them of no uſe.

But to comprehend theſe things, we muſt conſider, that *Dear* and *Cheap* are words of relation, and always refer to Silver; things being called ſo, according as they are bought or ſold for more or leſs Silver or Money: for Silver being the Wealth of Men, and the *Common Meaſure* of all Value, the Value of Goods will be in ſome proportion to Silver; and accordingly, in all Countries, have and do alter, from two Reaſons; *viz.* either from their *own Plenty or Scarcity*, or from that *of Silver's*,

ver's, in that by either of theſe ways the Proportion between them and Silver alters: as plainly appears, in that Plenty always makes things cheap, and Scarcity dear; and in that the Value of Goods have advanced ſince the Quantity of Silver hath increaſed in *Europe* by the Diſcovery of the *American* Treaſures.

Trade circulates Silver.

The Merchant who knows the Value of Goods in different Countries, directs his Trade that it may be of moſt advantage; and therefore either carries Money or Goods. When Goods are cheap he Exports them, in that he makes the greateſt Profit that way; but when dear, he Exports Money, and Imports Goods for the ſame reaſon. And by this means Silver is continually circulated between Nations, who have a mutual Trade; and the Value of Goods ſo equalled, that the Plenty alone, or Scarcity of Goods here in *Europe* at preſent, raiſes or depreſſes their Value.

What Goods Exported.

The Products and Manufactures of *England*, that are uſually Exported, are of the firſt ſort, ſuch as *Corn*, *Cloth*, *Bays*, *Serges*, *Stuffs*, *Leather*, *Lead*, *Tin*, &c. all which are more befitted for Uſe than Luxury; for notwithſtanding there is a great diſparity in the Value of theſe Goods, according to the Difference in their ſeveral Goodneſs, yet

yet all of them, *viz.* our fine Cloths as well as our coarſe, are uſed as neceſſary for Men, that is, are more for Uſe than Luxury. To make theſe therefore marketable in other Countries, we muſt make them good and cheap, in that, being for ordinary Uſes, Men will otherwiſe in time come to ſubſtitute other things that will ſerve for the ſame purpoſe, as are cheap, if theſe cannot be ſold ſo: for it is moſt certain, (notwithſtanding we may flatter our ſelves to the contrary) that Nature doth produce other Subſtances, that may be ſo wrought by the *Craft, Care, and Labour of Men*, as to ſerve for the very ſame Uſes as our Cloths and Stuffs do. To make theſe then our Goods ſaleable, we muſt make them cheap; but this cannot be done unleſs Labour is cheap; nor Labour cannot be cheap unleſs the Neceſſaries of Life are ſo; becauſe the Value of Labour will be in ſome proportion to the Value of ſuch things as are in common Uſe for Neceſſaries of Life (by which I underſtand ſuch things as are neceſſary for Mens Subſiſtence according to the Uſage of the Country where they live, ſuch as *Meat, Drink, Cloathing, Houſing*, &c.) in that the great and ordinary Motive, in common People, to Labour, is, to get a Live-

Livelihood or to have a Subſiſtence by it.

The ſecond ſort of Goods procured by Forein Trade, which principally regard the Pleaſures and Vanities of Men, being only Adjuncts of Wealth and Greatneſs in that they are uncommon, their Value raiſes them above ordinary Uſe; their Plenty then, as it would depreſs their Value, ſo it muſt ſpoil their Uſe. But our Country yielding few of theſe Trifles, I ſhall pretermit any further Enquiry about them.

Employing the People, and enriching the Nation, reciprocal.

The great Buſineſs of Trade is the *Employing our People*, and the great Advantage of it is *the Enriching them*; that is, the increaſing the Wealth or Silver of the Nation: for that, as I have already obſerved, is ultimately and really the Wealth of Men, and accordingly is coveted and ſought after as ſuch, in that it will be taken in Exchange for all other things. And theſe two things are ſo reciprocally dependent upon each other, that the People can hardly be ſuppoſed to be employed, but the Nation muſt be enriched; neither can the Nation be enriched, but the People muſt be emp'oyed: for the People cannot be employed, unleſs the *Produce* of their Labours, that is, our *Manufactures*, are conſumed, nor they conſumed unleſs exported, in that their Quantities exceed our own Conſumptions:

ptions: and if they are Exported in ſuch a Quantity, that their Value exceed the Value of Goods Imported, the Nation muſt be enriched, in that Silver muſt neceſſarily equal the Balance. To effect this, two things are required, *Quantity* and *Cheapneſs* of our Manufactures; for without the firſt, the Merchant could not Exchange for a Quantity of Forein Goods ſufficient for our own Conſumption, and therefore could return no Money: and without the ſecond the Merchant could not Exchange them either for Money or Goods with any Advantage to himſelf, and therefore would not Export them. To increaſe the Quantity of our Manufactures, requires either the multiplying our hands, or the making thoſe we already have more induſtrious; to make them cheap, requires that Labour may be ſo: but Labour cannot be cheap, unleſs the Neceſſaries of Life are ſo.

But ſince the Quantity of our Manufactures are found ſufficient for our preſent Conſumption, whether Forein or Domeſtic, it ſeems at preſent more to concern the Wiſdom of our Government to make them cheap, than to increaſe them, ſince it is that helps the forein Conſumption, and likewiſe diſcourages the Merchant from Importing ſo many forein Goods here, in

that when our native Goods are cheap, he can make but little profit to himſelf by Importing forein.

Way to enrich the Nation.

The natural way then at preſent to increaſe our Silver, and ſo to enrich the Nation by Trade, is to make ſuch things as are in Uſe amongſt our People, *for Neceſſaries of Life*, cheap; for by that means our People may *labour cheap*, and of conſequence the *Produce* of their Labour be Exported, as being marketable in forein Countries. But to comprehend the natural Reaſon of this, we muſt conſider, that it is only Gain to the Trader that encourages and enlivens Trade: and this being made by the Exchanging either his own Native Country Goods, or Money, for forein Goods; he therefore Exchanges either, *viz.* Money or Goods, according to the Advantage he can make. To encline him then to give Money for our Native Goods, in order to Export them, it is plainly neceſſary that he ſhould buy them cheap; becauſe then it will be more for his Profit to pay for them with Silver, than to Exchange for forein Goods. And we ſhall never be able to effect this, unleſs our People can ſo ſubſiſt, that the Effects of their Labour, that is, our Manufactures, may be afforded cheap. Beſides, if the Con-

Conſumptions that are made by our People for their ordinary Subſiſtence, are more valuable than thoſe of our Neighbours, our Neighbours will not only labour cheaper, but will likewiſe be able to under-ſell us, and of conſequence may be in a condition to pour the Fruits or Effects of their Labour upon us; which muſt impoveriſh us: whereas if we can ſubſiſt as cheap or cheaper than our Neighbours, the Merchant will have but ſmall Encouragement to Import many forein Goods here, in that he cannot ſell them to an Advantage by reaſon of the Cheapneſs of our own; and yet he being able to make a Profit from ours, will continue to Export them. Beſides, in our Woollen Manufactures we have ſome natural Advantages by the Materials, in that they are almoſt proper to our Country; Wool not being found ſo uſeful and good in any other Parts as in *England:* for which reaſon, if we can afford ſuch Goods tolerably cheap, they will ſell, in that Foreiners will not then *quickly fall into a diſuſe of them.* But yet to pretend to regulate forein Trade by our Laws, that is, to raiſe or depreſs the Value of Goods by unnatural Methods, ſuch as are by Premiums or Bounty-money upon our own, or Impoſitions or heavy Duties upon

ſorein, is really to endeavour, by Laws, to alter the Nature and Courſe of ſuch things as do not depend upon them; for the Value of all Goods will riſe or fall, according to their *Plenty or Scarcity*, that is, according to the proportion they bear to Silver, and not upon the Laws of particular Countries; and the Merchant will export them, or not, according to the Advantage he can make by them, and not according as Laws command or forbid him: for Penalties may deter the Man from Trade, but can never direct him if he doth trade; it is Advantage alone can do that: becauſe the very Nature of Trade conſiſts in a freedom of Exchange and the Inducement to it, an expected Profit between the Traders. The method then to increaſe it, is to leave it at liberty; and to encourage it, is to make it profitable to the Merchant: and this will depend upon the Nature of our Goods, and not our Laws. Furthermore, our Laws can only affect that part of Trade that concerns our own People, but not the other part that concerns other Nations that are not under our Laws, and the Advantage to us will depend upon both, in that unleſs it is mutual, the Trade muſt ceaſe.

But that we may the better judge of the Ex-

Expediency or Inconveniency of Laws made to regulate forein Trade, we may conſider, that it is of two ſorts, the one of which is entirely within our own power, and ſo may be regulated by our Laws, as thoſe are to our *Plantations*, *Colonies*, *and ſuch parts of our Dominions* where all other Nations are excluded: The other is what is made with *Independent States or People*, where other Nations have the ſame Liberty and Right as our ſelves.

Laws to regulate Trade.

In the firſt of theſe Trades, Laws of *Prohibition*, whether abſolute or only by Impoſitions, may be of uſe, but *Premiums* of none; for theſe People not being permitted to trade with other Nations, muſt take ſuch Goods as we Import to them in Exchange for their own: and therefore Laws may oblige our Merchants to carry only ſuch Goods as are moſt uſeful for us to ſend. Neither can ſuch a Trade require *Premiums* to invite Men to carry what the Law obliges them where they are carried to take. But even in this Trade, Impoſitions may bring ſuch a Diſcouragement upon Conſumption, that it may be leſſened, if not loſt by them.

Trade to our Plantations may be regulated.

The other trade with People who have a Right to trade with whom they pleaſe, as not being under our Government; theſe People

Trade with other Nations cannot.

People therefore will buy where they can buy beſt and cheapeſt: and to make our own Goods cheap at our own Expence, in order to ſell them, is only to deceive our ſelves with an imaginary Advantage, when really there is none; for the publick Advantage of Trade being to exchange our native Goods for Goods or Money, if we receive leſs in value than we give, we muſt neceſſarily loſe; and that we muſt do, when we give *Premiums* to make our Goods ſaleable: for by theſe we plainly depreſs the Value of them to Foreiners, but raiſe them to our ſelves.

Plenty makes Cheapneſs.

Plenty, as Experience plainly proves, always produces Cheapneſs (where Laws do not interpoſe to hinder the natural courſe of things; and where they do they commit a Violence upon Nature, in that they only perplex what they cannot alter) for it is in vain to hope by the help of Laws to make things *dear* which Plenty makes *cheap:* it is true, Plenty may be deſtroyed by Laws, and then things will be *dear* that were *cheap* before, or would otherwiſe be *cheap*. By this means the *Dutch* ſupport the value of their Spices, when their Plenty muſt otherwiſe debaſe it: but this could not be done with any Advantage to themſelves, was any other Country bleſſed with

thoſe Aromatic Subſtances. And for this reaſon that Method is not to be practiſed with us, in that our native Commodities are not *like Spices*, of ſo ſingular a nature, but that other Countries produce the ſame, or at leaſt ſuch things as may be ſubſtituted for the ſame Uſes; for which reaſon it is only the Goodneſs and Cheapneſs of ours can recommend them. And if they are good, and can be ſold cheap, they will be marketable; for being befitted for neceſſary Uſes, they will be ſold if their Value is not too much for their Uſe. And if ſuch is the preſent unhappy Circumſtances of our Country or People, that we cannot afford ſuch Goods as we can ſpare at ſuch a rate as to make them marketable, but are neceſſitated to add *Bounties* to encourage the Exportation, we had better have no Trade, than to trade at that diſadvantage; as ſhall be proved hereafter.

To make our native Goods vendible in forein Countries, without ſuch expenſive helps as *Premiums*, will require that the Neceſſaries of Life may be cheap here: And there ſeems but two ways in our preſent Circumſtances to effect that; either by making plenty of ſuch things as are now uſed as Neceſſaries of Life, or by diſpoſing the People to the Uſe of ſuch things as are

in

in their nature plentiful. But of theſe things hereafter.

This being premiſed in the general, of the Nature, Advantage, and Improvement of Trade; I ſhall now proceed, more particularly, to ſhew the Cauſes of the Advantages or Miſchiefs of forein Trades, made with different and independent People. To do this, I ſhall conſider all ſuch Trades under theſe three kinds.

Three kinds of Trade.

The firſt of Profit.

The firſt is, where the Nation immediately gains, in that Silver is brought in, and ſo increaſed by it: And this is in Trades where the *Value of the Exports exceed thoſe of the Imports*; for then the Balance is equalled with Money.

The ſecond indifferent.

The ſecond is, the Trade that ſeems in it ſelf Adiaphorous, in that the Nation neither gets nor loſes, in that the Exports and Imports are equal, and the Conſumption entirely within our ſelves: for in theſe, notwithſtanding our Exports are our own Produce, yet we only Import what we conſume, and have no over-balance of Money.

The third of Loſs.

The third is, where the Value of our Imports exceed that of our Exports; and ſo Money being ſent to equal the Balance, the Nation loſes.

But

But before I deſcend ſuccinctly to treat of theſe different kinds of Trade, it will be neceſſary to premiſe that there are two ſorts of Advantages that ariſe by Trade, *the one Publick and National, the other Private and Particular:* The firſt conſiſts in the Increaſe of Silver, the ſecond either in that, or Goods; for a private Perſon may be enriched, when no Silver is Imported: the Trader will take care of his own Advantage. It is the buſineſs only of the Legiſlature to take ſuch care of the Publick, that the Nation does not loſe when the Trader gains. To do this, requires the exacteſt Judgment in keeping ſuch an OEconomy in the Uſe of things, that the Trader may make a Profit by trading for ſuch Goods as may be of Advantage to the Community; the greateſt Secret in Trade conſiſting in the uniting theſe two differing Intereſts, *viz.* Private and Publick: for without encouraging the firſt, there can be no Trade; and without a regard to the ſecond, it is better to have none.

A difference between private and publick Gain.

It ſeems at firſt ſight wonderful, that any wiſe Nation ſhould permit of a Trade that brings Poverty, that is, in effect, Ruin to it ſelf; when this cannot proceed from any Ignorance or Inadvertency, in that all perſons who have thought of Trade have unanimouſly

Nations permit Trade of Loſs.

nimouſly agreed, that where the Value of the Imports exceed the Exports, there Money muſt go to equal; it not being within the Power of Laws to hinder it: and to diſcover this is not difficult, in that recourſe may be had to the publick Entries, which are now uſed in all the Countries of *Europe*. For altho' Laws cannot prevent the equalling the Balance where Trade is continued, in that the very continuing the Trade requires it, and therefore means will (notwithſtanding Laws) be found out to do it; yet Laws may entirely ſuppreſs that Trade, and thereby prevent the publick Ruin: And yet we may obſerve in ſeveral Nations this is not done; by reaſon ſuch is the nature of their Conſtitution, or ſuch the Circumſtances of People or Government, as fatally to require this: for where the Neceſſities of Men call for Goods that are Imported by this Trade, and particular Men, for private Advantage, encourage it, and the public Revenue is partly ſupported by it; to attempt to remedy this by violent Meaſures (that is, by Laws) before the nature of things are altered and ſo diſpoſed for it, is to endanger the publick Peace. For notwithſtanding the Supreme Power in all Governments has an unbounded Authority, yet ſeveral things that re-

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late to Government are not in the power of that Authority to remedy immediately, in that the Cauſes of theſe, by reaſon of diſtance of Time or Place, are without their reach; for political Effects are not like natural ones, as being produced ordinarily by one ſolitary and immediate Cauſe, but by a concurrency of ſeveral, ſome of which perhaps are ſo remote, and others ſo minute, that they are unobſerved; which notwithſtanding conjointly co-operating, produce ſuch fatal Effects as cannot with ſecurity be ſuddenly removed: as might be eaſily ſhewn by what hath happened to *Spain* and ſome Eaſtern Countries, which, by reaſon of their Religion, Laws, Conqueſts, or Severities of Government, are gradually fell into ſuch a State, as neceſſarily require the Continuance of Trades which do daily impoveriſh them. This being premiſed, I ſhall now return to what I propoſed.

1. The firſt kind of Trade, where the Value of the Exports exceed that of the Imports, and ſo is for the Nation's Advantage; plainly depends upon theſe two things, *viz.* the Cheapneſs of Labour, and the Goodneſs of the Country; but more eſpecially upon the firſt, in that no native Excellencies of a Country could procure *Profitable Trade.*

Money to the Inhabitants, did not the People cultivate and improve it.

The firſt thing required to make Labour cheap (in Countries that are not too thin of People, and ſo want hands) is to make the Neceſſaries of Life cheap; for if Men cannot live cheap, they cannot labour cheap; nor of conſequence the Effects of Labour cannot be ſold cheap; which is intirely neceſſary to make them marketable: for, he that can ſell cheapeſt will ſell ſooneſt in all places, where Men are at liberty to buy of whom they pleaſe.

The ſecond thing to make Labour cheap, is Induſtry, and Application of our People to it. And this depends upon the Fitneſs of Laws to excite Men to Labour and Induſtry, and the well-executing them when made. The firſt, with us, depends upon the whole Legiſlature; the ſecond upon the executive Authority. The Fitneſs of Laws in our Circumſtances ſeem to me principally to conſiſt in the obliging all Paupers early to inure and put their Children to ſome Employment, before they acquire a uſe or habit of Idleneſs, Sloth, Roguery, *&c.* for then ſuch uſeleſs Vices being unpractiſed, will not be coveted; it being as equally uneaſie for humane Nature to forſake Labour for Eaſe, Employment

for

for Idleneſs, as it is to paſs from Eaſe to Labour, from Sloth to Employment; our Natures being as well befitted for Motion as Reſt, for Labour as Eaſe; and are therefore diſpoſed for either, as they are uſed. As to the particular Methods by which this is to be done, I humbly conceive it a point not unworthy the Wiſdom of a Parliament. However, thus far I humbly conceive, this, in our preſent Circumſtances, will hardly permit of any one method, and in truth ſeems in it ſelf impracticable, unleſs our Numbers are increaſed, (as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter) for as to thoſe Expedients of publick Work-houſes, &c. they will not, without great difficulty (in our preſent Circumſtances and Methods of living) ſubſiſt even in Cities and great and populous Towns; and therefore little hopes they ſhould in Countries where People and Towns are very thin; and for that reaſon I doubt can be of no great uſe: for if the Profits from Labour will not maintain the Perſons in them, they cannot continue, unleſs there was ſuch charitable Endowments annexed to them, as would maintain the Expence. But I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of this hereafter.

2. The ſecond ſort of Trade that ſeems in its Nature Adiaphorous, in that the Nation *Trade Adiaphorous.*

tion is neither enriched nor impoveriſhed by it; in that the Value of the Exports and Imports are equal, or at leaſt the Balance ſo interchangeably turns, that it is difficult to diſcover on which ſide the Advantage lies: this Trade, notwithſtanding it is not of any real benefit, yet it is of great uſe (in our preſent Circumſtances) to the Nation, in that by this means the Great and Rich have opportunities to pleaſe, delight, and diſtinguiſh themſelves, by buying ſuch Foreign Goods as are befitted for theſe purpoſes: and theſe being Exchanged for our own Manufactures, Money is the better circulated and moved about amongſt the People; the People being, by this means, employed, and the Rich pleaſed at their own Expence: for from this Reaſon all thoſe pompous and magnificent Equipages, rich and glittering Dreſſes, coſtly Furnitures, gilded Roofs, *&c.* all thoſe variety of differing Viands, poinant Sauces, and diſtinguiſhing Meats; all thoſe charming and delightful Wines, and great diverſity of other Liquors, that are brought into Uſe amongſt the Nobility and Gentry, are ſerviceable to the Poor, in that the Effects of their Labour go to procure them. Beſides, the Public Revenue is improved, by Duties and Impoſitions upon theſe Goods,

and

and that at their Expence who are beſt able to bear it: for forein Goods that are befitted, and are uſed for theſe purpoſes, will admit of Impoſitions, in that their Uſe depends in ſome meaſure upon their Value. It is true, ſhould Duties be too heavy, they muſt leſſen the Conſumption, in that ſome Mens Fortunes would not then admit of the Uſe of them; and if they were too cheap, the Rich and Great would not uſe them.

Trade that is a Loſs.

3. The third and laſt ſort of Trade, is, where the Value of the Imports exceed thoſe of the Exports; and the Conſumption is amongſt our ſelves, this is really a loſs to the Nation, in that Silver is then Exported, and this therefore is never to be encouraged. As the firſt and natural Reaſon of the Advantage of Trade is from the *Cheapneſs of the Neceſſaries of Life*, as hath been already proved; ſo the true Cauſe of Trade's being a Loſs, is in *the Dearneſs of ſuch things*: for then the Trader not being able to Exchange our native Commodities (with any Advantage to himſelf) for ſuch forein Goods as are Imported and ſpent here, he does it for Money, and ſo advances his own Gain at the Nation's Loſs. And in this caſe, heavy Duties upon Imported Goods may be of ſome preſent Uſe, in that by

by theſe, the Importation of ſuch things that are bought by Money are diſcourag'd. But this is only an Expedient, but no Cure, in that it is the misfortune of our OEconomy, that adminiſters this occaſion to the Merchant; and theſe meaſures do not remove that. The truth of this Propoſition more particularly appears in the *Eaſt Indian* Trade, for in thoſe Countries the Neceſſaries of Life, and of conſequence Labour, being ſo very cheap, that their Goods with all the attending Charge can be afforded cheaper with us than ours that are made upon the Place; this Trade therefore is circulated with Money, our Manufactures being of no proportionable Value there, whereby to invite the Trader to carry them.

Of the Eaſt Indian *Trade.*

It is certain therefore, if all the Goods that are Imported from *India* are conſumed amongſt our ſelves, that the Loſs we ſuſtain by that Trade muſt be equal to the Money we carry thither: but if the Goods we Import from *India* are again Exported to ſuch a Value that they return, in the courſe of Trade, more Silver to us than their prime Coſt; then I ſay, notwithſtanding it carries Silver from us, yet it is advantageous to us. It is true it is not of equal Uſe as ſuch Trades are, as increaſe the Conſumption of our own Labours, in that

that more of our People are employed by theſe than can be by that: for in the *India* Trade our own People are only the Carriers, and the Profit to us only ariſes by that; whereas in the other Trades, our People are the Workers as well as Carriers. The Profit by the firſt is by a few hands, and ſo does not deſcend to the Maſs of People, whereas the Advantage from the laſt is more diffuſive, the whole Community, ſome way or other, ſharing in it.

Our Trade to the *Eaſt Indies* hath lately been the Subject of much Diſcourſe. Thoſe concerned in our Manufactures have laboured warmly to leſſen, if not ſuppreſs it; and, on the contrary, thoſe concerned in it have zealouſly endeavoured to ſupport and continue it: each Party (it is probable) ſuiting their Arguments to their Intereſt. The moſt popular Objections againſt this Trade, may be compriſed under ſome of theſe four Heads; every one of which I ſhall impartially examine, and leave it to the Reader to judge of the Expediency or not of that Trade. But before I deſcend to that, I ſhall deſire him to weigh impartially theſe few things, for by that he may the better judge of the real Advantage or Loſs of our *Eaſt India* Trade.

1. That Silver, by the Conſent of Men,

is become the Money of moſt Countries, and valuable in that it will be taken in Exchange for all Goods.

2. That the Value of Goods riſe and fall as Silver increaſes or leſſens: and to increaſe the Quantity of Silver, is of no Uſe to Mankind, becauſe Goods may be as well valued by a little as much, as it is certain they formerly were.

3. That the Wealth of a People is only to be judged of by the quantity or proportion of Silver they have in reſpect of other Nations, their Neighbours. For Example, *England* was as rich with One Million Sterling, before the Diſcovery of the *American* Treaſure, as it is now with Ten; and of conſequence the Nation as happy and powerful.

4. That the leſſening the Quantity of the Silver in *Europe*, is no Detriment to us, if ours leſſens but in proportion to that of our Neighbours. If therefore the Silver that we daily ſend to the *Eaſt Indies* does really leſſen the Silver of *Europe*, and not ours in particular, it cannot, nor does not, do us any manner of Injury: but if it only drains us, and does not affect other Countries, it muſt ſoon impoveriſh and ruin us. But whoſoever will but ſeriouſly conſider the undoubted Nature of Trade, will ſoon be con-

convinc'd how unlikely it is, that they ſhould ever happen in time of Peace, by reaſon of that mutual Trade that is in *Europe*: for when once by a ſcarcity of Money, Goods become cheap in any Country, Money will be ſent thither until their Values come near an Equality; for which reaſon no Trading Nation can be dreined, but the reſt of *Europe* alſo will. As to what ſome Men object, how this Trade enriches the Eaſtern People, I take to be of neither weight nor moment, in that their vaſt diſtance upon the Globe from us, prevents any Miſchiefs that can ariſe by our carrying Silver to them. But now to the Objections.

The firſt is, that it is circulated with Silver, little of our own Produce or Manufactures being carried thither. *Obj.* 1.

The ſecond, That we Import from thence moſt Unneceſſaries, more of which are conſumed amongſt our ſelves, than exported into other Countries. 2.

The third, That notwithſtanding we Export ſome of the Goods brought in by that Trade, yet the Value of ſuch have never equalled the Money ſent to the *Indies*: beſides, the Exporting them is a Diſadvantage to us, in that they hinder the Sale of our own Manufactures. 3.

4. The fourth, That admitting in times of Peace we were not ſenſible of the ſad Effects of that impoveriſhing Trade, in that by the Advantage of other Trades, we had a Supply of Silver; yet now that being ſtopt, this, if continued, muſt inevitably impoveriſh us.

Obj. 1. As to the firſt, Whoſoever will but conſider the preſent ſtate of the *Eaſt Indies*, how plentiful the Neceſſaries of Life are there, and how cheap Mens Labours, will ſoon be convinced how impracticable it is for us to pretend to circulate that Trade by any thing of our own *Growth, or from our own Labours*, in that our Trade is there with *independent People, managed by our Factors, made only by Conſent, as with free Nations*; and therefore only to be carried on by mutual Advantages, we having no *Colonies or Plantations of our own People, nor no Forts, or fortified Places, or Forces ſufficient* to awe and compel the Inhabitants of any Iſles, or People of any Provinces, to a ſeparate Trade with us only, as the *Dutch* have. And but few Goods can be carried from us that will be of Advantage to the Trader to Exchange for others, by reaſon of that great difference in Value between Goods here and there; and therefore he will trade with Money thither: for notwithſtanding the

the Intercourſe between them and us may bring them to ſome ſort of liking of ſome few things of our *Produce*, and ſo to give ſuch a Price as the Merchant may be encouraged to carry them, as for inſtance of *Strong Beer*, yet the Cuſtom or Religion of thoſe People obliging them to an abſtemious way of living, it is not likely that they ſhould ever make ſuch a Conſumption, either of *That* or *Wine*, as to circulate any thing of a Trade by them: beſides, thoſe hot and ſpiritous Liquors ſeem not befitted for ſo warm Regions. The ſame may be ſaid of *our Cheeſe*, that it may be uſed to regale and tickle Mens Palats, but can never be received as a Food, in that its Nature is not befitted for ſuch Countries; neither will its value there permit it to deſcend to a common Uſe, in that all Proviſions are there ſo cheap. *Our Woollen Manufactures* likewiſe are not ſo fit for the uſe of ſuch Countries; *Our Lead and Tin* have been ſent with Advantage, but the Uſes to which they apply thoſe Metals make ſo ſlender a Conſumption, as will not require any great quantities. The Value of *Gold* is there depreſſed, and therefore not ſent in that quantity as formerly, Silver being at preſent the Subſtance that makes the profitableſt part of that Trade, and accordingly

dingly has been carried thither in very great quantities, as appears by the Accounts of the publiſhed Entries.

Obj. 2. As to the ſecond, that what we Import moſtly conſiſts of *Unneceſſaries*. If by *Unneceſſaries* Men underſtand ſuch things as are not of any great Uſe either for our Convenience or for our Subſiſtence, (that is, that we may be without them) this Objection may be allowed as true; but then moſt forein Trades lie open to the ſame, there being few things that ſo immediately relate either to our Convenience or Subſiſtence, but are produced, or may be made out of what is our own Growth: and therefore, according to that Objection, need not be Imported. But if by *Unneceſſaries* is intended ſuch Goods, as being Imported, become uſed, and ſo leſſen the Conſumption of ſome of our home Commodities, the Objection muſt be owned in part true, in that the *ſtained Calicoes* have undoubtedly hindred the wearing of our *thin Stuffs*. But then there are ſeveral other Goods Imported likewiſe from thence, that are applied to ſuch Uſes as none of our native Goods will ſerve, as may be inſtanc'd in *Pepper*, *Saltpetre*, *fine Muſlins*, *unwrought Silks*, *and ſeveral Drugs*. But if by *Unneceſſaries* is meant Toys, ſuch as

as *Porcelane*, *Japan Works*, &c. it muſt be owned true: but then may be anſwered, that the Value of theſe Trifles are inconſiderable in reſpect of the *India* Trade.

To the third, If the Accounts of the Exports of Silver, and of the Imports of Goods brought from the *Indies*; and afterwards of the Exports of thoſe Goods to other Countries, for the five laſt Years, as they were Printed and Publiſhed, as offer'd to the Houſe of Commons be juſt; it is, according to that, without any contradiction, that the Value of the Exports of *India* Goods were ſhort of the prime Export of Silver that was ſent to circulate that Trade; and of conſequence, that the Nation hath really loſt by that Trade as much Silver as is neceſſary to equal the Balance between them: Beſides, perhaps thoſe Exported Goods, in the full length and circle of Trade may not return one half Silver: and of conſequence if the Publick Loſs or Gain by Trade is from the Silver, and not Goods, this Trade hath for theſe five Years been a National Loſs; that is, upon a Preſumption that the Silver that hath been thus Exported to the *Indies*, muſt have remained amongſt us, and accordingly we, in reſpect of our Neighbours, to have been ſo much richer than now we are: for if the *Obj.* 3.

Silver

Silver we have carried to the *Indies* would by the courſe of Trade have been diſperſed through other Nations, and we ſhould have had no greater proportion of it, in reſpect of *Europe*, than now we have; we had never been the richer or better if it had not gone. And this, it is plain, muſt have happened, where a mutual Trade between Nations is continued, as has been in *Europe* for this laſt Age. But then whether theſe *India* Goods Exported do really hinder the ſale of our own Manufactures in forein Markets, is a Point that requires a nice Examination: for, to make a Judgment of that, we muſt conſider forein Trade, as I have already obſerved, under two kinds.

The firſt is, where it is properly in the compaſs of our own Power, as where it is to any *Kingdom*, *Province*, *Colony*, or *Plantation*, that is, under our Government, and ſo may be entirely regulated by us.

The ſecond is, where it is made with other *Nations*, *States*, or *Kingdoms*, that being independent of us, will trade with who they pleaſe; and this Trade is not to be regulated by us.

To Export the *Eaſt India* Goods to any parts of our own Dominions, where no other Nations are permitted to trade, is moſt undoubtedly to leſſen the Conſumption, and depreſs

depreſs the Value of our own there, in that ſuch Goods it hot Countries are better befitted to ſuch Uſes as our own have been there applied to, and may be afforded cheaper, and therefore will be ſold ſooner: and no detriment can ariſe in not admitting *Eaſt India*'s Goods to be ſent thither, in that the People not being permitted to trade with other Nations, muſt receive ſuch Goods in Trade as we bring: neither will any Diſcouragement fall upon that Trade by theſe Prohibitions, ſince they are under no more Hardſhips by them than their Friends in *England*; for indeed it looks like a ſtrange Soleciſm in Trade, to prohibit the Uſe of *Indian* Manufactures amongſt our ſelves, and yet to permit the Uſe of them in our other Dominions; that being in effect to puniſh and impoveriſh our ſelves, at the Pleaſure and Advantage of ſuch as ſhould be ſubordinate to us, by allowing them to conſume what we muſt not, and by that to leſſen there the Conſumption of what we labour to increaſe, *viz.* our own Manufactures.

As to the ſecond kind of forein Trade, *viz.* that with independent People, we muſt conſider that notwithſtanding we allow the *Eaſt India* Trade of it ſelf to be at preſent a Diſadvantage to the Nation, in that it

carries away more Silver than in the whole courſe of Trade it returns; yet ſince that Trade is purſued by our Neighbours, (who perhaps circulate it with leſs Silver than we do) and is of that moment to them, as to be one of the chief Supports of their Commonwealth, it cannot be imagined but that induſtrious People would ſupply forein Markets with *India* Goods, ſhould we abandon that Trade; and ſuch being ſold cheaper, and perhaps better befitted for their Uſes than our Manufactures, muſt of courſe be ſold ſooner, and ſo our Markets ſpoiled, and the beſt of our Trade loſt: for it is moſt certain, that the Goods or Manufactures of *India*, ſuch as *Calicoes*, *Silks*, *Herba*, &c. are much better befitted for the Uſe of *Spain and their Indies*, than our *Woollen Cloth*, *Bays*, *Serges*, and *Stuffs*: for which reaſon, altho' we admit that ſuch *India* Goods do leſſen the Sale of our Manufactures in ſuch Countries; yet this is not in our power to remedy, ſince if we do not ſupply them, our Neighbours will, and by that means in time may entirely deprive us of a Trade, of which this is only a part.

Obj. 4. As to the fourth Objection, That altho' in times of Peace we did not feel the direful Effects of this Trade, in that by the means

means of other Trades we had a conſtant Supply of Silver; yet now having none, we muſt be drained by it. It is certain, the greateſt Quantities of Silver we Imported came from *Spain*; for what we received from *Jamaica*, &c. was never in proportion to that; our Trade with *Spain* being at preſent ſtop'd, the Importation of their Silver muſt be leſſened. If then the *Eaſt-India* Trade ſhould now continue to carry away ſuch Quantities it hath lately done, our Silver muſt neceſſarily waſte; and thereby, during the War, put us under great Inconveniences: Beſides, that mutual intercouſe of Trade between Us and ſome *European* Countries being by the War at preſent ſtop'd, if we waſte our Silver too faſt by this Trade, and they do not, our Poverty may oblige us to ſubmit to an immature Peace. There ſeems therefore a neceſſity to put ſome reſtraint upon it during this War: Neither can there any fatal Miſchiefs ariſe by that; in that (the *Dutch*, who are the only People to be feared in this Trade) are equally engaged in the ſame War, and by that means in no condition to ſupplant our Trade with *Spain*, by ſupplying them with *Eaſt India* Goods. If it be objected, that if we at preſent reſtrain this Trade, and the *Dutch* do

not; that notwithſtanding, they cannot directly ſupply *Spain* with ſuch Goods, yet they will do it by Neutral Countries. To this I anſwer, That admitting this practicable, (which it is plain, may be prevented, if the Government heartily eſpouſe it) yet the Quantities carried by that Method cannot be ſo great, but that our Merchants (notwithſtanding ſome Reſtraint upon carrying Silver to the *Eaſt-Indies*) may bring Goods ſufficient from thence to purſue the ſame Trade.

Induſtry will make profit in Trade.

If we ſeriouſly attend to the Nature of Trade, we may ſoon perceive, that as a Nation that delights in *Sloth* and *Luxuries*, muſt naturally be impoveriſhed by Trade; ſo on the contrary, a People that are pleaſed with *Labour* cheriſh *Induſtry* and *Parſimony*, muſt as neceſſarily be enriched by it, in that the Follies and Vanities of the firſt will oblige or incline them to receive and buy what the Induſtry of the laſt makes or brings: And not having Goods to exchange, they muſt pay Money, by which the other are enriched: And no Law can remedy this Miſchief, in that paying for the Goods received, or equalling the Balance, is but the natural Effect of the Trade, which cannot be altered or hindred, unleſs the Trade it ſelf is ſuppreſſed or deſtroyed.

Where-

Whereas the induſtrious People, if by reaſon of a variety of different Trades, ſome of theſe require the carrying Money, yet no Miſchief ariſes by that to the Publick, by reaſon Silver muſt centre in the courſe of Trade amongſt them; in that their own Goods or Manufactures, which are the firſt Spring that gives motion to Trade, can be afforded cheap, and ſo are either ſold for Money, or exchanged for Advantage, by which in courſe of Trade Money is returned: for as no Laws can hinder the exporting of Silver where the Balance of Trade is againſt a Nation, ſo there needs none to reſtrain it from an induſtrious and parſimonious People, in that the Balance will be for them, in that their Conſumptions in the general of forein Goods will be ſhort of the Exportations of their own: and by that means Silver will be in greater proportion with them than with their Neighbours, and this without Reſtraint upon any Trade. And as Reaſon demonſtrates the truth of this, ſo Fact abundantly confirms it, in that the *Dutch*, who are a parſimonious and induſtrious People, put no reſtraint upon their Subjects in Trade, Silver being carried abroad as well as other Goods, and yet continue the richeſt Nation in *Europe*: whereas, by the Laws of

Spain,

Spain, to export Silver is Death, and yet moſt of their Silver is exported. By which appears, that Traders dealing for Advantage, will therefore exchange for what is moſt profitable, be it either Goods or Money: to make our Goods ſo, we muſt ſell them cheap; and this can only be effected by encouraging Induſtry.

Means to advance Land fruitleſs.

Our Legiſlature have laboured, with great Application, to advance Land; and, as a means to effect this, to employ our People: but have not, in my weak Judgment, always purſued the natural Methods whereby to do it; in that the Employing the People requires the Exporting our Manufactures, and the doing that the making them marketable. The firſt Step then to raiſe Land, is to have our Manufactures marketable, and that their Goodneſs and Cheapneſs muſt do; which neceſſarily requires, that the People may live and labour cheap: for no Laws of ours can oblige forein and independent People to buy our Commodities; it is only their Goodneſs and Cheapneſs does that: And yet ſuch is the nature of ſome of our Laws, that they plainly raiſe the Value of Labour, and of conſequence leſſen the Exportation of our own Goods, when at the ſame time we are labouring to increaſe our Trade by the Expor-

Exporting them. It is true, we have ſeveral Laws to encourage the Conſumptions of our own Produces; but then theſe, for the moſt part, are ſo contrived, as to reſpect only the Advantage of ſome one particular thing, and therefore do neceſſarily bring in the uſe of ſome unnatural Methods to do it, which are plainly inconſiſtent with Trade, and for that reaſon have never been effectual; there being, in truth, ſuch a Harmony and Circumvolation in things of uſe amongſt Mankind, that it ſeems unreaſonable to expect, by the help of particular Laws, ſo to raiſe the Value of any one thing, as to make it be of Uſe, Continuance, or laſting Profit, in that Men will ſoon ſubſtitute other things, that are cheaper, for the ſame uſe.

Laws of two ſorts.

Laws that encourage our own Conſumptions, are either ſuch as do it amongſt our ſelves; or, ſuch as do it by our Exportations.

The firſt are, by forbidding the Uſe of forein Goods where thoſe of our own *Produce* may ſerve.

The ſecond are, by the help of *Premiums* to encourage the Trader to Export the Produce of our Country or Labour; and by *high Duties* to diſencourage him from Importing forein.

The

Laws of Prohibition.

The firſt of theſe may be of ſome uſe, in that the Conſumption is within our own power; but the laſt of none, in that it is not, being by other People.

It is moſt certain, the publick Uſe and Advantage of all Trade is the *Employing and Enriching our People*; and this requires the Conſumption of their Labours. If this Conſumption is within our ſelves, there cannot be ſo many hands employed as if it was abroad, in that the very Exporting requires an Addition of ſome, (unleſs what is Exchanged and Imported for what was Exported is of ſuch a uſe, as leſſens the Conſumption of our own Labours to a greater degree than the Carriage and Working of our Exported Manufactures amounts to.) It is true, where we are the Exporters of our own, and the Importers of the forein, we have uſually the Advantage; and therefore in this caſe the Conſumption of the forein, where our own are taken in Exchange for them, is better for us than our own, that is, upon a Preſumption that the Exchanges are equal in value. But if our own Goods will not be accepted in Exchange, for equal value, for ſuch forein as are conſumed by us, it is then neceſſary to break that Trade, by abſolutely enjoining the Conſumption of our own,

own, where Cuſtom or Uſe had recommended forein. Our Laws of this kind are thoſe for *Burying in Woollen*, where Cuſtom and Uſage had recommended Linen; thoſe that forbid *Brandies*, to encourage the Conſumption of *Malt Spirits*; thoſe againſt *Eaſt India* Goods; thoſe againſt *Iriſh* Cattel, *&c.* There are other ſort of Laws of Prohibition, that ſeem adiaphorous, being of neither Hurt nor Profit to the Nation, in that altho' they encourage the Conſumption of Goods made by one ſort of Men, yet they diſcourage thoſe that are made by another: and ſuch being ſpent at home, are of no moment to the Public, as thoſe concerning *Buttons*, *Glaſs Bottles*, &c.

Laws for Premiums.

The ſecond are thoſe that are intended to encourage the Conſumption of our Product by forein Exportations: Of this kind are thoſe that give *Premiums* to the Exporters of ſome of our own Goods; and thoſe that lay high Duties upon ſuch forein, which being Imported, may hinder the Conſumption of our own. It is without controverſie, that Goods being made cheaper to the Merchant by the means of *Premiums*, may be ſold cheaper by him, and ſo become the more marketable in forein Countries: but the Queſtion is, whether this being done at the *Publick Expence*, is

of any real Advantage to the Nation? and whether the ſupporting the Value of any one particular Product by this violent and unnatural Method, does contribute to the keeping up or increaſing the Value of Land, which ſeem to be the main Points intended by thoſe Laws. To judge rightly of this, it will be neceſſary to conſider *Premiums* as they relate to *Corn, or what is made or produced from Corn, as Beer*, &c. or as they regard *Fiſh, Herrings*, &c. To advance the price of Corn, is to make Labour dear, and by that means our Manufactures not marketable abroad; and the Materials of theſe being the Products of the Land, the Value of that muſt be depreſſed when the Sale of theſe are leſſened: what then by this Method is gained by *Corn*, is loſt by *Labour* and *Wool*, and ſo the Value of Land not raiſed. The *Premiums* for the Exports of *Herrings, Fiſh*, may be of greater uſe, in that the Fiſhery, which is a Nurſery for our Seamen, is by that means encouraged, in which, being an Iſland, our Trade and Security conſiſts: and this without any detriment to the Publick, in that *Herrings* and other Fiſh not being much the Food of the Country, the Value of Proviſions are not increas'd by ſuch Exportations. Beſides, theſe *Fiſh* being ſent to ſuch Countries

tries where their Religion obliges them to a great Conſumption of them, becomes a means to preſerve an advantageous Trade in our hands: for this Reward being given to the private Trader, he is enabled to ſell with greater Advantage than our Neighbours, who have no ſuch Encouragement, and who otherwiſe would under-ſell us.

Law to make Conſumption by unnatural methods ineffectual.

But notwithſtanding the Care of our Laws to increaſe the Conſumption of our own Products by the methods recited, yet ſuch being rather Expedients to palliate, than Remedies to cure, the Miſchiefs have ſtill remained: for to cure theſe, is required the removing the Cauſes, that is, the ſo regulating the nature of things, that the Exporter may make Advantage to himſelf, without any loſs to the Publick. To do this, theſe two things ſo often mentioned are required, *viz.* Induſtry in our People, and Cheapneſs of Labour.

What required to make Conſumption.

To effect the firſt, is required an early Care to bring Youth to Labour: but of this hereafter.

To effect the ſecond, it is neceſſary that the Neceſſaries of Life may be cheap. It is certain very different Subſtances are in uſe amongſt Men for Neceſſaries of Life, ſome of which, by being eaſily got, and plentifully produced, are cheap; whilſt

others, for the contrary, are more valuable. That therefore People may live cheap, one of theſe things is neceſſary; either that they uſe ſuch things, as being plentiful are cheap, or elſe that ſuch things as they uſe may become cheap, by being made plentiful.

Things eaſily produced cheap.

The firſt of theſe is always a work of great difficulty, but with us impracticable, in that we want People to make ſuch Conſumptions as might neceſſitate them to come to the Uſe of ſuch things as being eaſily produced, and plentiful, muſt therefore be cheap: for inſtance, we in *England* being accuſtomed to feed upon *Fleſh*, *Wheat*, &c. which are in their nature valuable, can never, unleſs neceſſitated, deſcend to the Uſe of the Products of a *Garden*, *Oatmeal*, *Barley*, *Fiſh*, or the like, which will always be much cheaper, in that they are more eaſily produced. Beſides, our very Conſtitution ſeems not befitted for Parſimony, in that it makes or requires ſuch marvellous Differences in the Qualities and Fortunes of Men, which will be attended with an outward Pomp and Magnificence, in that they are not to be ſupported without ſuch: and by theſe Examples the meaner and more inferiour People are gradually inticed and inclined to love

love and like what their Fortunes cannot follow; however, being pleaſed with theſe Vanities, they naturally diſlike the contrary, and become apt to Ape what they cannot fully imitate: whereas in thoſe Governments that do not permit ſuch mighty Inequalities amongſt them, there is not the ſame Temptation to Luxury and Vanity. Thus, for inſtance, the Equipages and manner of Living of thoſe who are in Power and Authority in *Holland*, are little different from the ordinary Burghers, the great *De Witt*, as Sir *William Temple* obſerves, being rarely attended with more than one Servant. And for this Reaſon Pomp and Luxury is as little affected there, as Parſimony and Frugality is here.

To make things cheap requires Plenty.

The ſecond is, That ſuch things that are in ordinary Uſe for Neceſſaries of Life may be rendred cheap. To effect this, all Prohibitions and Hinderances to Plenty ſhould be removed, and all Improvements encouraged, by which the Value of ſuch things as are uſed as Neceſſaries of Life may be depreſſed. All Prohibitions ſeem to be a ſort of Violence upon the very Nature of Trade, in that they limit and reſtrain what ſhould be in its nature free: for Trade being only an Exchange of Goods or Money made for the Advantage of the Traders; if

if the Government interpoſes in Trade, and forbids the Exchanging ſuch things as the Trader ſuppoſes would be for his Profit, he grows ſullen, and diſuſes Trade: But ſince it may happen, that what is an Advantage to a private Man may be a Loſs to the Publick, it is much better that the Trade ſhould be prohibited, than the Publick ſuffer. The prime Reaſon of all Prohibitions is the ſuppoſed Injury that ſuch Trades do the Nation, either by carrying away our Money, or hindering the Conſumption of our own Commodities; and are of two ſorts, either ſuch as regard what is the *Produce* of ſome of our own Dominions, or ſuch as relate to thoſe of other Princes. The firſt ſort principally concerns *Ireland*, by forbidding the Importation of their Cattle. To judge rightly whether this Law hath been of any Advantage to *England*, it will be neceſſary to conſider the preſent ſtate of *Ireland*, and the relation it doth, or ought to bear to us. *Ireland* is ſubject to *England*, and as ſuch is ruled *Provincially*, and accordingly ſhould be made uſeful and profitable to *England*: to do this it muſt be improved; but ſo, that the ariſing Profits may ultimately centre in *England*: for ſhould *Ireland* flouriſh in Wealth and People, and that Wealth remain there, it would not long con-

Ireland a Province, their Trade ſhould be an Advantage to us.

continue *a ſubordinate Province.* To improve it, requires the increaſing the Number of its Inhabitants; to make the Wealth of *Ireland* to be of Advantage to *England*, it is neceſſary that it ſhould paſs into *England.* The Returns of Money for Rent (in that great Numbers of the Proprietors of the Soil live in *England*) and publick Payments, muſt ſoon drain *Ireland* of all its Money, unleſs it can be ſupplied either by forein Trade, or theſe Payments made in uſeful and valuable Goods. To permit a freedom of Trade to other Nations with *Ireland*, is to weaken and impoveriſh *England*, in that forein Markets may be ſupplied from thence with Goods at a cheaper rate than we at preſent can afford them; and to exclude them from Trade, and yet expect Money from them, is impracticable, ſince it is only by Trade to be acquired. It remains therefore, if *Ireland* is continued uſeful to *England*, that ſuch their Payments be made in valuable Goods, ſince the very permitting a Trade to *Ireland* by any other way than that of *England*, is really a Method ſo to enrich them, as to make them our Equals in Trade and Power, becauſe it muſt neceſſarily leſſen our own Trade, in that their Goods can be afforded cheaper than ours: and if our Intereſt

reſt or Safety will not permit them to trade directly of themſelves with other Nations, and we forbid the Importing of their Products here, we muſt ſoon make the People uſeleſs, and the Country a Deſart. The Products of *Ireland* that are of greateſt moment, are great *Cattle and Sheep*, or what is produced or made from them, as *Fleſh*, *Tallow*, *Hides*, *Butter*, *Cheeſe*, *Wool*, &c. For as for Tillage, they have not hands enough to make it in ſuch quantity as to be of any great Advantage. It is certain the Occupiers of all Land will endeavour to apply it to ſuch Uſes as are moſt advantageous: when therefore the greateſt Profit in *Ireland* was made by multiplying and breeding *Cattle and Sheep*, in that they had a Market in *England* for them, they ordinarily turned their Stocks that way. Beſides, by the means of their Cattle, they had opportunities of making Payments here, as likewiſe of ſupplying themſelves with uſeful Goods from hence: but the courſe of that Trade being ſtop'd, they became under a neceſſity to convert their Land to other Uſes, ſuch as *Feeding*, and to make Money from their *Fleſh*, *Tallow*, *Hides*, &c. or to *Dairying*, and ſo do the ſame thing by *Butter*, *Cheeſe*, or by *Sheep*, to have it from *Wool*. And theſe Commodities being

Iriſh *Trade ſhould run by* England.

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in great part taken off by Strangers, turns the courſe of the *Iriſh* Trade another way, the *Engliſh* having little Advantage from it, (excepting their Wool) Strangers ſupplying them with what formerly they had from *England*.

Products of Ireland *ſhould be received here.*

It is certain, the Products of *Ireland* exceed their own Conſumptions: the Queſtion is, Whether it is not better for us to receive them, than to permit them a Trade with Foreiners? For it is plain, ſo long as the People remain, the Land will be employed: and it being a Province to *England*, the Land ſhould be ſo employed, as to be an Advantage to *England*; which it can never be, if the People fall into a Trade independent of *England*: for indeed, to admit a *Province* to a Trade with Foreiners, is only to enrich it without any Advantage to the Sovereignty, (excepting what ariſes by the Duties, and that does not concern the Body of the Nation, but the Crown only) whereas the great buſineſs in Governments is to make *all Provinces* ſo ſubſervient to the Sovereign Kingdom, that the People may be enriched by it, and yet no Diſcouragement upon the Province. And for this reaſon the firſt ſhould be the only Traders to receive their Goods, and furniſh them with others; for by this means

their Gain can never be our Loſs: whereas if we permit *Ireland* an immediate Trade with other Nations, our People can have no part of their Profits: And the *Produces* of *Ireland* being of much the ſame nature as thoſe of *England*, a freedom of Trade permitted to them, muſt be an undoubted Loſs to us, in that their Goods can be afforded at a much cheaper rate than ours, by reaſon of the Plenty and Cheapneſs of them, and of conſequence the Sale of ours ſpoiled, as has already happened upon *Beef*, *Butter*, *Cheeſe*, &c.

Prohibition of Iriſh *Cattle a Loſs.*

If then we purpoſe to preſerve *Ireland* in ſuch a Condition that it may flouriſh in Wealth and People, and yet continue uſeful and ſubſervient to us; we muſt permit the Importation of their *Produces*, viz. *Cattle and Sheep*: for without ſome forein Conſumption they cannot proſper, as wanting Mouths to make it themſelves. To permit them to Export theſe to other Countries, is to impoveriſh our ſelves: and neither to receive them our ſelves, nor to permit their Exportation to other Parts, is, in effect, to make the *Country a Deſart, or at leaſt the Land of no value.* The Inconveniencies urged againſt the Importation of their Cattle, has been, That this muſt naturally leſſen and depreſs the *Price of Fleſh*,

Object. againſt the bringing Iriſh *Cattle.*

Fleſh, and of conſequence lower the *Rents and Value of Land*, and bring a Diſcouragement upon Breeding here, and thereby make a great part of the *Lands of ſome Counties in England* uſeleſs, in that they are only befitted for that purpoſe.

Anſwer. It is a moſt undoubted Truth, that the Cheapneſs or Dearneſs of Goods depend upon the Plenty or Scarcity: and yet the Value of the Land does not depend upon the Increaſe, but upon the Conſumption of its Produce. To illuſtrate this, Should one Acre of Land in one Year produce but one Quarter of *Grain*, and that ſhould ſell for 3 pounds; and in another Year four Quarters, and thoſe ſhould ſell for no more: I ſay, the Profit from the Land to the Occupier is equal, notwithſtanding the Inequality of the Produce. But if, by reaſon of the Conſumptions, the Prices ſhould become equal; then the Profits would be according to the Increaſe, and ſo marvellous unequal, *viz.* as 4 to 1. It is true, was the Occupier to ſow an Acre of Land when *Grain* was at 3 *l. per Quarter*, and the ſame when it was but at 15 *s. per Quarter*, here is a manifeſt Difference in the prime Coſt; and ſhould the Quantity of the *Produce* be equal, and yet the Difference in the Value remain; then I ſay, the Profits from

the Land would be marvellous unequal, as being in proportion to the firſt Charge: but this is not to be ſuppoſed, in that the Value of the Produce will be according to the Increaſe, ſuppoſing the Conſumption to be equal. To apply this; Should *Iriſh* Cattle be Imported, the Number of them muſt naturally depreſs the Value of lean Cattle to what they are now; but then the Profit from the feeding them would be greater, in that the Fleſh being cheaper by reaſon of the prime Coſt being leſs, and yet the Conſumption being increaſed by the Cheapneſs, the Demands muſt be greater, and ſo the Profit: becauſe the Value of unfed Cattle being from their Number leſſen'd, and the Quantity of Land that is moſt proper and beſt applied to feeding not being much increaſed, the Profits from feeding upon the Land muſt be enlarged, in that the Demands and Conſumptions are greater: nay, ſhould the feeding Land increaſe, the ſame Reaſon would hold in the Conſumption, by reaſon the Cheapneſs muſt increaſe likewiſe. It is true, as the Rents of feeding Land, upon the admiſſion of *Iriſh* Cattle, muſt neceſſarily advance, ſo, on the contrary, thoſe of the barren and *breeding Land* muſt be for a time ſomewhat depreſſed: But then this Objection is eaſily

eaſily anſwered, in that the Occupier hath by the means of our late Improvements from *Graſs-ſeeds*, *Turnips*, &c. Opportunities to make larger Improvements upon barren Land from thoſe Methods, than ever he will be able to do by his breeding Cattle; and therefore conſidering the preſent Improvements upon mean and barren Soil, it ſeems very wonderful, that even the Proprietors of that are not zealous for the admiſſion of *Iriſh* Cattle, ſince their Tenants, having no Encouragement from breeding, would ſoon turn their Thoughts to make thoſe Improvements which would ariſe from *Turnips*, *Graſs-ſeed*, &c. All of which being of greater advantage to the Occupier, muſt naturally advance the Rents to the Proprietor: and without the admiſſion of *Iriſh* Cattle, it ſeems to little purpoſe to make thoſe kinds of Improvements. Beſides, the *Iriſh* having a Market here for their lean Cattle, and being reſtrained from Exporting any thing of their own *Produce* to any forein Countries, would neceſſarily apply themſelves to breeding; and the Trade from *Butter*, *Cheeſe*, *Tallow*, *Hides*, which is now managed with other Countries from thence, would turn into our Channel. Furthermore, the Quantity of *Iriſh* Wool muſt leſſen, and the Value of

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our own advance, in that Mens Labour would become cheaper, when the Neceſſaries of Life in ordinary uſe are ſo; in that Labour in our Manufactures being of much greater Value than Materials, ſuch might be afforded cheaper, and of courſe more of them conſumed; and the Demands keeping pace with the Conſumption, muſt naturally advance *Wool, which is the Material*; and eſpecially when we conſider that the Quantity of *Wool* muſt from this reaſon rather diminiſh than enlarge: that is, it would neceſſarily leſſen in *Ireland*, and could not increaſe in *England* in proportion to what it muſt leſſen there, becauſe the *Iriſh* Sheep being ſooner killed here, their Numbers would diminiſh in compariſon to what they are now, when they are kept to a greater Age; and of conſequence *Wool* being a *Produce* from the Land, the Rents of that would riſe; whereas by theſe Prohibitions, we give *Ireland* an opportunity of a direct Trade in ſome Particulars with other Countries, (which ſeems to be inconſiſtent with the Advantages that are to be made, by the Sovereign Kingdom, of a Province) and that in ſuch things as in the length of Trade are a real Detriment to us. And not only this, but we keep up the *Prices of Fleſh* to our own People, and depreſs it to

thoſe

thoſe of other Countries; and by that means advance our own Labour, and ſo hinder the Exportation of our own Manufactures. And therefore theſe Laws contribute ſo little to the Value of Lands, that they are a real hindrance to it; for by theſe means, in the courſe of Trade we often become Loſers, the Balance being often againſt us for want of a Conſumption of our Manufactures in other Countries: and had we not ſome Relief by the means of our *Weſt-India* Goods, our very Trade from theſe very meaſures muſt ruin us. Beſides, *Live Cattle* not being admitted here, the Number of Sheep, and of conſequence the Quantity of *Iriſh* Wool, is increaſed: and their Wool being only to be Imported into *England*, and the Value of it (for Reaſons already aſſign'd) being but low, there is a great Temptation upon the Inhabitants, or others, to hazard the Penalties of the Law, in running of it to *France*, by the great Advantage that is made by it there: by which courſes the *French* Manufactures are ſupported to our Diſadvantage.

Woollen Manufactures in Ireland.

As to our other Prohibitions, that relate to the Diſcouragement of the Woollen Manufactures in *Ireland*, they ſeem to be of no manner of weight; for if the Trade of *Ireland* is only circulated by *England*, and if their

their Cattle were permitted, the Neceſſaries of Life in both Kingdoms would ſoon come to near ſome Equality: and then we having the Advantage of being Carriers of their Goods, and indeed ſuch paſſing into other Countries by *England*, there would require no Diſcouragment upon ſuch Manufactures there, when there could be little or no Advantage by the working them.

Other Prohibitions.

The other ſort of Prohibitions that relate to Goods of forein Growth, are made by impoſing high Duties upon Goods Imported; and that ſeems in a particular manner to regard *France*: for, King *Charles* having entred into a Friendſhip with that Crown, quietly permitted heavy Impoſitions upon *Engliſh* Goods, by which means their Conſumption in that Kingdom was leſſened; and yet the Uſe of *French* Goods was continued, in that they were not here ſo heavily burthened: by which the Balance of Trade ſoon turn'd to that ſide: whereas had King *Charles* but loaded theirs in the ſame degree as the *French* King did ours, either *France* muſt have removed thoſe heavy Duties, or the Trade between the two Nations muſt have ceaſed. But the *Revolution* here producing a War with *France*, we, to diſcourage the *French* Trade, went into the ſame method of impoſing extravagant

travagant Duties upon the *Products and Manufactures* of that Country; by which means, notwithſtanding a Peace, yet there was a diſcontinuance of Trade, neither Nations complying for ſettling a Tariff.

Beginning of high Impoſitions.

The Uſage of laying *exorbitant Duties upon Imported Goods*, ſeems originally to have been taken up for one or both of theſe Reaſons; *viz.* Either to advance the Publick Revenue, or to leſſen the Conſumption of forein Goods.

Since the Nature of moſt of our *European* Governments are now altered, not being ſupported as formerly by Land, but by a ſtipendiary Soldiery; and Money being entirely neceſſary for the maintaining that force, *Gabels*, *Exciſes*, and *Impoſitions*, have been found the beſt Expedients to raiſe it by: and accordingly, theſe have been practiſed in moſt Countries of *Europe*.

Conſumption leſſened by high Duties.

That the Conſumption of foreign Goods is leſſened by heavy Duties, is moſt certain, in that their Value is advanced by them: but the Queſtion is, Whether this is of any real Advantage to the Nation? It is without Controverſie, that the Employing our People depends upon the Conſumption of our Manufactures; and Conſumptions are either within our ſelves, or by other Nations: if within our ſelves, our

People are by that employed, but the Public not enriched; if by other Countries, then the Queſtion is, what you receive for them? if Goods and Money, the Nation gains; but if only Goods, and thoſe conſumed here, there then is nothing gained, but our People are employed, and the Nation ſupplied with ſuch things as the preſent Circumſtances of Living require. If therefore heavy Duties are laid upon Goods Imported, that were taken in Exchange for our own Manufactures, the Conſumption of ſuch Goods being by this Duty leſſened, the Conſumption of our Manufactures that were taken in Exchange for ſuch Goods muſt likewiſe leſſen; and this from the very nature of Trade, without any regard to reciprocal Duties, that other Nations in return will lay upon ours: By all which it will appear how difficult a thing it is ſo to regulate Duties upon forein Goods, that our own may not be affected by it. It is true where this Method is begun and practiſed upon our Goods by other Nations, it is entirely neceſſary that we return it upon theirs; or otherwiſe we muſt be ruined by the Trade.

Unnatural methods to advance Trade of no uſe.

The great buſineſs of Trade, as I have already hinted, being to enrich and employ our People; and the natural method to effect

ſect this, being by making Labour cheap, becauſe our Manufactures then may be afforded cheap, and forein Trade then muſt be to the Public Advantage; for all other Methods ſeem unnatural, for Example, Prohibitions, whether abſolute, or by heavy Duties, are a Violence upon Trade, which ſeldom can be laid, but never continued to any Advantage; that is, where we are the Beginners of them; in that ſuch muſt, in the courſe of Trade, leſſen our own Exportations. *Premiums* to the Trader, to invite him to Export our native Goods, are preternatural, and diſadvantageous, for by ſuch we labour to make that *dear* to our own People (and that at the Public Expence) which Plenty makes *cheap*: Beſides, by that we inſenſibly raiſe Labour by thus unnaturally advancing the Value of the Neceſſaries of Life; for by raiſing the Price of one thing, we do it to all that are or may be applied to the ſame uſe: for Example, If by *Premiums* the Value of *Wheat* is advanced, all other Grain will be affected by it, and advance likewiſe in ſome proportion: and if by theſe Methods we advance Corn, we inevitably depreſs the Value of Wool, in that Labour being raiſed, our Manufactures will not be ſo vendible in forein Countries; and of conſe-

quence the *Farmer gains* only at the *Graſier's Loſs:* And if our *Corn*, from this reaſon, brings us ſome Money, our *Cloth*, *Stuff*, and *Serges*, muſt loſe us more.

Trade managed by Intelligence.

Trade now is moſtly converſant about ſuch Subſtances, as by Uſage, and the Circumſtances and manner of Living, are become neceſſary or convenient for Mens Subſiſtence: and Trade being managed by an Intercourſe between Men of different and independent Countries, who by keeping a Correſpondence, mutually inform each other what Things are moſt marketable in their ſeveral Countries; by which when any one ſort of Goods become *dear* in one part, they are ſupplied from other Countries, until ſuch time as by a plenty of ſuch Goods Imported the Value again leſſens; and then the courſe of Trade changes, in that the Advantage ceaſes. And thus, by the means of Trade, there comes to be a ſort of Equality kept, as to the Value of ſuch Goods that are in uſe amongſt Mankind, between different Nations; (a regard only had to Carriage, Fraight, and other Contingencies.) When therefore, by the means of Plenty, any one ſort of uſeful Goods are cheap in any Country, they will be Exported, in that the Merchant can make a Gain by that Trade; but then for the

the procuring theſe Goods he muſt either uſe other Goods or Money: if he cannot make Advantage by Goods, he does it by Money; and then he makes a private Gain at the public Loſs, in that he Exports Silver. As a Remedy for this, *Premiums* are uſed, that ſo the Value of the Goods to the Traders may be brought to ſome Equality, and no Money paſs in the Exchange. But this Expedient of *Premiums* is far enough from curing this Miſchief; becauſe the Value of all Goods, in all Countries, being made by Silver, if the Public, for Example, ſhould allow one fourth part of the Value of their native Goods as a Reward to the Trader for Exporting them; the Trader by this may gain, but the Nation muſt loſe, in that thoſe their Goods are made cheaper to the Merchant, but dearer to the Publick than really they are: and of conſequence, in the Exchange or Trade conſidered between the two Nations, the one receives but 3 parts in Value of Goods for 4 parts of their own, and therefore loſes one fourth. But to illuſtrate this by a particular Inſtance, let us ſuppoſe a Hogſhead of Wine in *Portugal* to be worth 4 Ounces of Silver, and let us ſuppoſe 4 Buſhels of Wheat to be of the ſame Value in *England*, the Exchange here between theſe two different

The Uſe and End of Premiums *frivolous.*

ferent things would be equal to the two Nations, the Advantage to the Merchant ariſing from other Reaſons. But if *England* allows one Ounce of Silver to the Exporter of Wheat, the Wheat then to the Nation is valued at 5 Ounces; whereas it really coſt the Merchant but three (by reaſon of his *Premium:*) for which reaſon, in *Portugal* he can Exchange it, as if the prime Coſt was but 3 ounces: and by this *Portugal* gains one fourth in value in the Exchange: and by this means the Conſumption of our Goods is leſs in Value by one fourth part there than that of theirs is here; and this, in the courſe of Trade, muſt naturally depreſs the Value of our Goods, in that the Conſumptions are not equal according to their Value: For the Value of Goods in all Countries being compared by Silver, where a Trade is not managed by near an Equality in Value (regard always had to Carriage and Contingencies) altho' it does not ſeem directly to affect you, if no Silver paſſes to equal the Exchange, yet in the End it muſt be a Loſs to you, becauſe by this you advance the Value of their Goods to the Publick by the firſt Exchange, and yet increaſe the Conſumption, in that they can be afforded cheaper by the Merchant here, the Public having

having contributed to the firſt Coſt: whereas we depreſs the Value of our own, and yet receive nothing but Goods (that are conſumed among our ſelves) for them, and thoſe at a greater Value than really they are worth; as is moſt manifeſt in that you give more of our Goods in Value for leſs than you receive of theirs: the Nation by theſe Meaſures paying five Ounces of Silver for what is really worth but four, and what coſt the Merchant but three. By which it does appear, that notwithſtanding *Premiums* may be Expedients to encourage the Exportation of ſome of our *Produces*, yet the very Continuance of them muſt be a public Loſs, becauſe the Value of all uſeful Goods depending upon their Plenty or Scarcity, and not upon Law, theſe Violences can be to very little purpoſe, in that by endeavouring thus by Law, that is, unnaturally to alter this Value, is to intend to alter the courſe of ſuch things by humane Laws, that are plainly in their Nature out of the reach of them: and therefore altho' by ſuch Meaſures ſome Interruptions may be made in the courſe of things, yet ſuch can never be of any laſting advantage.

Value of Goods bear a proportion to Silver

If we but ſeriouſly conſider the proportion that uſeful Goods in all Countries bear to

to Silver, we ſhall be apt to conclude, that as the Value of ſuch Goods muſt riſe as Silver increaſes, that therefore Mens Labours, and of courſe the Produce of Labour, muſt riſe in proportion to the Money in every Country; and of conſequence that the Goods and Manufactures of ſuch Countries where there is plenty of Silver, could not be with any advantage carried where a ſcarcity of Silver makes Goods and Labour cheap, in that Merchants trading for Advantage, will therefore either deal with Money or Goods, according to the Profit they can make by either: where Goods therefore are cheap, they deal for Money, becauſe a greater Profit ariſes to themſelves by that, than can by the exchanging Goods that are in their own Country (by reaſon of the Plenty of Money) bought dear; and by this means the Balance is againſt their own Country, until ſuch time as the Value of thoſe Goods come near an Equality, and then they change the courſe of Trade. Altho', I ſay, theſe things ſeem but natural Conſequents of a free Trade, yet a free Trade may be ſo managed, that one Nation may always preſerve a proportion of Silver exceeding that of their neighbouring Countries: for if any People, by an unwearied Induſtry, become the Carriers of the

the Goods of other Nations, and by a parſimonious living make but little Conſumption themſelves of forein Goods, they muſt naturally by Trade accumulate Wealth beyond their Neighbours, becauſe their Labours in the Carriage becomes part of the Value of ſuch Goods when ſold, and therefore is an entire Gain to the Carrier: and this Profit cannot be again loſt by Trade, in that it perpetually ariſes from it; and is like the Box in Play, which moſt certainly gets, let who will loſe. For the Goods that are thus carried not being ſpent at home, muſt neceſſarily, in the courſe of Trade, bring Silver into that Country; and this of its own nature, without the help of Laws to regulate it.

Why Goods are cheap notwithſtanding plenty of Silver.

But notwithſtanding it will perhaps be granted, that an induſtrious People by thus being the Carriers of the Goods of other Countries may be able by that Help to preſerve greater quantities of Silver to themſelves than any of their Neighbours, and yet permit a freedom of Trade, which muſt naturally diſperſe Silver until Goods and Silver come to ſome ſort of Equality in Countries where this Intercourſe of Trade is continued; yet there is a Difficulty remains to be ſolved, How a People that abound in Silver ſhould be able to afford

their Manufactures ſo cheap as to make them vendible in forein Markets, as it is certain the *Dutch* do, who are able to underſel us, and yet by the lowneſs of Intereſt appear to have more Money than any Nation in *Europe*. To comprehend the reaſon of this, it will be neceſſary to take a ſhort view of the different Methods of living between them and us; and this perhaps may give us alſo ſome inſight into the Improvements that we, in our preſent Circumſtances, are capable of making in reſpect of Trade. The *Dutch* then ſubmit to the Uſe of ſuch things as Neceſſaries of Life as are in their *Nature cheap*, in that they are *plentifully and eaſily produced*; for all ſuch Subſtances being raiſed and produced by the Charge, Labour, and Induſtry of Men, their Value will be according to the *Difficulty or Eaſe*, *Length or Shortneſs of Time*, that is uſed or required for their *Production*. For Example, The immediate Produce of the Earth, as *Herbs*, *Pulſe*, &c. will be cheaper than *Fleſh*, *Bread of Wheat dearer than that of Barly*, *Oatmeal*, &c. and by this variety of differing Subſtances that are ſo unequal in their Value, that are in uſe by Men, it comes to paſs, that the People in ſome Countries are able to maintain themſelves much cheaper than others, notwith-

notwithſtanding the Plenty of **Money.**

If we enter into a more particular Enquiry of the Reaſon of theſe things, *viz.* Why the *Dutch*, who are rich, are ſatisfied with Parſimony, and have theſe Advantages beyond the neighbouring Nations? we may ſoon diſcover this does not proceed from any natural Advantages *that People* have beyond their Neighbours, but that they are perfectly indebted to *the Narrowneſs of their Country, and Nature of their Conſtitution:* for their Conſtitution not permitting any marvellous Differences in the *Qualities and Conditions* of Men, in that it confers no *Hereditary Honours*, nor permits the accumulating no *large Eſtates to perpetuate in a Family*; for perſonal Eſtates break and divide, and the *Smallneſs of their Country* does not permit of many *large real ones.* Beſides, the difference in the ways of living between Men there are not ſo great as in other Governments: for, the *Superiors*, or thoſe in Authority, not uſing any chargeable or voluptuous Vanities, the meaner ſort are the better pleaſed with Parſimony, as having no Temptation to Luxury. Their Laws likewiſe being made by themſelves, are contrived for the common Advantage; and are throughly executed, in that the Authority of making and executing them

Why the Dutch *ſubſiſt cheap.*

are not divided: whereas in thoſe Countries where this happens, they are rarely well executed, unleſs the executive Power has ſome Advantage by it. The Wiſdom of their Laws permits the Exerciſe of all Religions, and admits all Strangers amongſt them; which has filled their Country with People. The narrow Compaſs of their Country, and Thickneſs of Towns, are an Advantage to their Manufactures, which are beſt carried on by Numbers, where Induſtry is encouraged, and Idleneſs puniſhed; and that it muſt neceſſarily be, where the Mouths are too many for their Country's Produce. From theſe Reaſons, the *Dutch* may flouriſh in Trade, and abound in Wealth, beyond any of the neighbouring Nations.

England's *Advantages.*

And as the preſent State of *Holland* is better befitted for Trade than any other *European* Government, ſo we ſeem much more befitted for it than moſt of our neighbours, in that our Laws ſecure us an entire Property in the Fruits of our Labours; and by having our Repreſentatives in the Legiſlature, we are not only skreened from the Inſults of our Superiors, but our Laws being made with our Conſent, a more immediate regard is had to the common Intereſt of the People. It is from this Reaſon

that

that our Trade has been carefully conſidered, and induſtriouſly encouraged. It is true our Laws have ſometimes ſeemed to lean too much in favour of Land, in that we have endeavoured, by unnatural Methods, to raiſe the Value of our *Products*; and by that laid ſome Obſtacles to our Trade, by endeavouring to make things dear which Plenty makes cheap: but theſe Laws have proved but ineffectual Remedies, in that the Value of Land depends upon Trade, and Trade upon the Induſtry of the People.

Induſtry encouraged

Vagrancy, Idleneſs, and want of Induſtry in our People, have been common and laſting Complaints amongſt us; ſeveral Methods have been propoſed, and Laws enacted for the removing and preventing theſe Vices, all of which have hitherto been but of ſmall efficacy: The Reaſon of which ſeems to be, in that ſome parts of theſe Misfortunes are grounded upon our Conſtitution. Some are derived from the Circumſtances of our Country; and theſe, I think, will not admit of any preſent Remedy: But then there are others that are continued by ſome Defect in our Laws, and others by a Remiſſneſs in the Execution of them: and theſe, I apprehend, may be cured.

We

Conſtitution not befitted for Induſtry.

We may juſtly glory in the Happineſs of our Conſtitution, that ſecures us a Property in what our Labour or Induſtry ſhall gain; but then the *Pomp*, *Magnificence*, *and Luſtre*, that attends *ſwelling Honours and large Eſtates*, which our Conſtitution not only admits, but requires; are what are too apt to allure them who ſhould live by their Labour, Induſtry, or Trade, to love and like what pleaſes *their Superiors and Betters*: and this inſenſibly inclines them to prefer *Luxury* to Parſimony, Pleaſures to Induſtry; and this Vice gradually deſcending, corrupts the whole Maſs of People with ſomewhat of the ſame Folly: for being thus poiſoned with the Vanity of living beyond their Fortunes (by the Example of thoſe whoſe Qualities or Eſtates permit of it) they are not ſatisfied with ſuch Neceſſaries of Life, as being plentiful and cheap, would make their Labours ſo, but are too prone to deſpiſe and diſuſe what Plenty makes cheap; their Deſires ſtill enlarging with the Profits of their Labours.

Extent of our Country a hindrance to it.

The Extent of our Country, Thinneſs of Towns, and Want of People, permit of large Waſtes of Ground, ſuch as *Foreſts*, *Chaces*, *Commons*, &c. which are as ſo many Nurſeries to Vice and Idleneſs; for by theſe Youth live unimployed, and become ſeduced

ſeduced by the tempting Pleaſures of taking *Hares*, *Conies*, *Deer*, &c. and by thoſe means become unfit for any thing of public Uſe: for by giving themſelves up ſo early to theſe Follies, they fall into all manner of Looſneſs, from which they are not, without difficulty, to be reclaimed. Beſides, the Plenty of our Country diſpoſes our People to Luxury and Idleneſs, and the Thinneſs of Towns, and want of People, renders Manufactures in many parts of the Kingdom impracticable, in that ſuch are not to be carried on without a number of Hands, which are not in ſuch places to be had. The Scarcity of People, and Fruitfulneſs of our Country, leſſen Induſtry, in that the Neceſſities and Wants of Men are now ſupplied without That or Labour; whereas were our Numbers increaſed, our Conſumptions muſt; and of conſequence Men would be obliged to Labour to get a Subſiſtence: for then either Lands muſt be improved, that our own Produces might be ſufficient for our Mouths; or forein Goods Imported to ſerve for ſuch Uſes; either of which, by requiring Labour, muſt be a diſcountenance to Idleneſs. Beſides, when the Neceſſaries of Life are not procured without ſome difficulty, Men will not ſo profuſively and wantonly diſpoſe of them,

them, to the Support and Maintenance of Idleneſs and Vagrancy; as we may obſerve in *Holland*, where ſuch kind of Reliefs are ſomewhat unuſual.

Why Induſtry is not ſufficiently encouraged by our Law.

The Deficiency in our Laws, in not encouraging Induſtry, ſeems primarily to conſiſt, in that ſufficient care is not taken to increaſe our Numbers; for to do that, two things are required, neither of which our Laws permit.

The firſt is, to encourage Marriages; that ſo we may multiply our ſelves.

The ſecond is, To admit Strangers; that ſo we may increaſe by others.

Laws concerning Settlement

The firſt requires that all Laws *reſtraining Settlements* ſhould be Repealed, and a free Liberty conceded to married Perſons to ſettle where they pleaſe: for the preſent Vexations and Troubles that attend *Settlements*, are great Diſcouragements upon that ſtate. Theſe Unchriſtian Laws, that hinder Settlements to our poor Brethren, are plainly founded or derived from that unequal Law, that obliges Pariſhes to provide for their own Poor: for the Charge that ariſes from the Poor, is the Cauſe why each Pariſh labour to prevent the ſettling of any Perſons that may become chargeable to them.

The

The ſecond requires an Act for a general Naturalization, and ſome Law to aſcertain the Titles of Eſtates; for by that Foreigners would be invited to purchaſe Lands, and ſettle amongſt us. But ſo many Difficulties attend theſe two things, in our preſent Circumſtances, that they are rather to be wiſhed for than expected, in that the doing them will neceſſarily interfere with what a multitude of private Men do ſuppoſe to be their preſent Intereſt, and who therefore will not readily conſent to them. *A general Naturalization.*

The Miſchiefs from the not Executing Laws, ſeem to ariſe, becauſe that Authority is committed to ſuch Perſons who have no Benefit by it: for whilſt the Executing thoſe Laws that are for puniſhing *Vagrancy and Idleneſs* are left to Parochial Officers, thoſe Vices will never be ſuppreſſed; in that there is no Motive to theſe beyond their *bare Duty* to ſee it done: and the doing of it being accompanied with Trouble and Charges, they will not be very zealous in it. Beſides, Uſage hath given it the Name of *Inhumanity*, and Cuſtom of *Cruelty*, to execute Laws that inflict Puniſhments, when no Perſon in particular ſuffers by the violating them. For this Reaſon theſe Vices can never be ſuppreſſed by any Laws with us, unleſs the executing them is com- *Laws not Executed.*

mitted to ſuch Perſons whoſe Intereſt it is to ſee it done.

Our Laws unequal. Theſe things that are within the reach of Laws to remedy, yet will not without the greateſt difficulty permit of the means of doing it, by reaſon former Laws have already ſettled theſe matters in methods directly oppoſite to what theſe propoſe: and Men will not eaſily be perſwaded of the great and natural Advantages of theſe Meaſures, eſpecially conſidering our former Laws have laid the Burthen from the Poor ſo very unequally; and ſuch Perſons who have the Advantage by the Laws in force, will not eaſily conſent to Alterations, (private Intereſt being of more weight with moſt Men, than public Advantage.) For notwithſtanding from theſe Methods Land muſt neceſſarily advance, in that the Conſumption of the *Produce* muſt be increaſed, and by that a neceſſity to improve it, and no want of Hands to do it, and by Improvements Rents muſt riſe; yet ſo far ſome Mens minds are clouded by private and immediate Intereſt, as not to be convinced of the truth of theſe things, notwithſtanding Experience would abundantly confirm them, if they would but obſerve the mighty Difference in the Value of Lands that lie near *London*, if compared with

with ſuch as are in the more remote Countries; which can be attributed to no other Reaſon, than to the Number of the People, and the Improvements, that are but the Effect of ſuch Numbers: nay farther, how the Value of Rents inſenſibly decline, according to the diſtance from *London*, unleſs of ſuch Lands as lie near, or are contiguous to great Towns or Roads.

Things would alter were Laws altered.

It is true, if Men will ſo far narrow their Enquiries, and confine their Reaſonings, as to infer that things will be, were theſe Laws altered, as now they are; and that therefore the Poor being now unimployed, and ſo a Burthen and Charge to Eſtates where they ſettle, muſt therefore continue ſo; and conſequently, to multiply them is to increaſe and intail a Tax upon themſelves, in that this would increaſe as they do: then, I ſay, it is impoſſible to convince theſe Men of the Expediency and Advantage of theſe Meaſures. But if theſe Gentlemen would be pleaſed to carry their Enquiries far enough, they might ſoon perceive, that theſe Misfortunes are rather made and increaſed by thoſe former Laws, than removed or leſſened by them: which will plainly appear, in that in all trading Countries, the more numerous the People the leſs burdenſome the Poor, Induſtry

being always encouraged, and Sloth and Idleneſs deterred by numbers: nay farther, Experience will inform them, that the very Value of their Lands depend upon the Number of People, and do and will riſe and fall, as they increaſe or leſſen; which is undeniably evident, in that depeople a Country, and the Value of Land is loſt.

Poor a burden, but would be a Benefit.

It is very difficult to convince Men of this Truth, in that here in *England*, the Poor, for want of a due OEconomy, are vicious, idle, and unemployed, and ſo become a Burthen and a Grievance to thoſe upon whoſe Eſtates they ſettle; and being, by the means of Incloſures, and Laws of Settlement, very unequally diſtributed, are very heavy upon ſome particular Parts, which makes Men unwilling to permit of their multiplying and ſettling: whereas could they ſubſiſt upon their own Labours, they muſt be a Benefit to all Places where they ſettle, becauſe Conſumption being then increaſed, a multitude of things that now, for want of Mouths, are uſeleſs, would then be ſought after, and ſold for Money: as may be obſerved by what happens in great and populous Towns, where every thing that is of the Produce of the Land, becomes a Profit to the Occupier.

But

But it may be objected, that notwithſtanding theſe things ſhould be allow'd Truths, yet conſidering our Country and Conſtitution, it will be a Difficulty to employ our People; and to increaſe them, unleſs we can employ them, is only to entail a Charge upon our ſelves. This Objection carries too much of Truth to be denied, in that ſo many Endeavours have been uſed for this End, but all of them as yet have been but to little purpoſe; the Reaſon of which is not in the Impoſſibility of the Undertaking, but that we have attempted this by forced and unnatural Methods: that is, by endeavouring to perform this without removing thoſe things that are in their very Natures Obſtacles to it; that is, without firſt diſpoſing the Circumſtances of the Kingdom, that Induſtry in our People may be but a natural effect of their Numbers. For if we do but conſider the Perverſeneſs of humane Nature, we may ſoon be convinced, that Perſons that have been bred up and uſed to Idleneſs, will never ſubmit to Labour, unleſs neceſſitated to it: and that is to be done but by one of theſe two ways; *viz.* Either by virtue of Puniſhments, which Laws inflict; or by a want of the Neceſſaries of Life; for Men will rather Work, than Suffer or Starve.

And

And the Inefficacy of former Laws are a Proof that the firſt is not to be done in our preſent Circumſtances: we therefore ought to apply our ſelves to the laſt, (that hath not as yet been tried;) but then this muſt be by natural, and not violent Methods, ſuch as are the multiplying our People, and not by puniſhing Men for their Charity in the relieving thoſe who are in want, which is Unchriſtian: for were our Numbers increaſed, our Conſumptions muſt likewiſe, and of courſe more Induſtry muſt be uſed to ſupport thoſe Numbers, in that Mens very Neceſſities would then oblige them to Labour for their own Maintenance; Meat, Drink, Cloathing, *&c.* not being to be had without it: for the Relief then to be got by idle begging, could not be ſufficient for maintaining ſuch numbers of Indigents, who therefore muſt apply themſelves to Labour to get Bread. And thus Induſtry would be a natural effect of Increaſing our People; whereas from the Paucity of them Idleneſs naturally flouriſhes, in that our Country, without much Induſtry, produces abundantly ſufficient for their preſent Subſiſtence: and therefore ſeveral things are often diſpos'd of to ſupport Idleneſs, in that they cannot be ſold. And to propoſe to incline Men to Labour who have been bred

bred up in Sloth, where the very nature of things do not oblige them to it (without the continued dread of Puniſhment, which in our preſent Circumſtances will never be effectually inflicted) is but frivolous; for no ſooner ſhall the fear of ſuffering be removed, which is the Motive that excites ſuch Men that have been uſed to Idleneſs to Labour, but Labour ceaſes: and that general Tenderneſs which abounds in our People prevents neceſſary Severities from being inflicted upon ſuch Perſons. Beſides, methinks Cruelties, and ſuch theſe Puniſhments will be called, are never to be countenanced amongſt Chriſtians, when the very ſame purpoſes may be brought about by gentler and more eaſie Methods, as it would be by thus altering the courſe of things, by increaſing our Numbers.

Public Workhouſe of no uſe, and why.

Furthermore, the Methods hitherto propoſed and purſued for the Employing our Poor, by being too general are found uſeleſs, and indeed impracticable, by reaſon of the different Circumſtances of ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom; which renders it unfit for one and the ſame Meaſures. It is true, *Vagrancy may be ſuppreſſed, and Idleneſs puniſhed*, by a general and well-executed Law; and this being done, People will be the better diſpoſed ſome way or other to employ

employ themſelves: and Labour, of what kind ſoever, will be of ſome Advantage to the Community. But to make Laws to conſtrain Men to apply themſelves to this or that particular thing, which perhaps they are in no wiſe befitted for, and that in a Country that ſeems improper for that purpoſe, and that upon ſuch Goods whoſe Conſumption are not great enough to require multiplying, and therefore can give but ſmall Encouragement to thoſe who labour in it; is, in truth, to attempt things that are in their Natures impracticable: for if Men cannot ſupport themſelves by Labour, they will never purſue it, the getting a Livelihood by it being the true and only Motive to it. And notwithſtanding Laws well executed, and accompanied with a charitable warmth in ſome generous and pious Minds, who prefer ſuch Chriſtian Practices before worldly Gain, may for a time ſupport ſuch unprofitable Undertakings; yet where there are no Advantages to encourage and ſupport ſuch Projects, Laws will ſlacken, and Charity in time cool, and ſo they gradually moulder and fall. It it true, were ſuch of our Hoſpitals, or other Charities, that at preſent only maintain Sloth and Eaſe, made Nurſeries or Encouragements of Labour and Induſtry, Multitudes might then be employed, in that the Revenues would ſupport the Loſs that would be ſuſtained, for the maintaining them that Labour. But this not being conſiſtent with the charitable Intentions of the pious Founders, will not, I ſuppoſe, be approved: And yet it is no more than what

what our Anceſtors have practiſed in the Suppreſſion of Religious Foundations; in all of which, the ſacred Intentions of the Donors were *violated, and that to a much worſe purpoſe than they would be in this.* To apply this to our preſent Caſe; To propoſe to erect public Workhouſes in Countries that are thin in Towns and People, in order by that means to employ the Poor for the public Advantage, ſeems a Project clogged with too many Difficulties to be of any uſe; by reaſon the People to be employed muſt either be removed from their diſtant Habitations to theſe public Houſes, or the Materials to be wrought muſt be ſent to them: The firſt, in our preſent Circumſtances, ſeems moſt proper, in that Perſons unverſed and unskilled in theſe kind of Labours will require the Care of Superviſors to inſtruct and direct them: for ſhould the Materials to be wrought be ſent home to them, the Loſs ſuſtained by Spoil, and Unskilfulneſs, would be too great to be continued. And if we do but conſider the Conſequences that muſt attend this removing indigent Families to one common place, *when they cannot maintain themſelves*, we ſhall ſoon perceive, that this, in our preſent Circumſtances, muſt alter the whole OEconomy of things, in that it is inconſiſtent with the Laws of Settlement, and with thoſe of providing for the Poor by Parochial Taxes: and therefore not to be practiſed, unleſs ſuch Laws are firſt altered. Beſides, what Inconveniencies muſt attend Towns where Huſbandry is cultivated? what Loſs to places from whence the Poor are removed, if they muſt ſtill

contribute to the Charge of their Maintenance: for ſuch Houſes can never ſupport themſelves by the Labours only of thoſe who work in them, (unleſs our preſent manner of living is altered, the Neceſſaries of Life that are in uſe amongſt us being too dear for that.) Furthermore, the Manufactures that are to be carried on by theſe public Workhouſes, are either of the Woollen or Linnen: the Woollen hath been hitherto the moſt profitable to us, our People being better skilled in that than the Linnen. The Hands that are already employed in that, are found ſufficient to work all the Materials we have; Wool in *England* not being often loſt for want of Hands to work it: but thoſe that work in it, are often diſcouraged for want of a Conſumption of what they have wrought. To pretend therefore to increaſe the Numbers of ſuch as work in this Manufacture unnaturally, that is, by a Law, when you have neither Materials to employ them, nor Conſumptions for what they make, ſeems to be an Undertaking of neither uſe nor moment. It is true, Induſtry and Invention may ſo improve our Manufactures, that the very ſame quantity of Materials may work more Goods than they do at preſent; but then this is never to be effected, unleſs their Conſumptions give an Encouragement to ſuch Improvements: And this can never happen from the Reaſons already aſſign'd, unleſs ſuch Goods can be afforded ſo cheap, as to be marketable abroad. Beſides, our People in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom are fell into ſo an expenſive and profuſive way of living, as renders the encouraging the Woollen Manu-

Woollen Manufacture moſt profitable.

Does not want Hands.

Manufacture impracticable; for where *Lace* is made that is more profitable, *Carding* and *Spinning* will be diſuſed, as has already happened in ſeveral Counties. And yet the Profits from Labour in the Woollen Manufactures are more than thoſe from the Linnen, in that Wool is a Product almoſt proper to *England*, no Country producing any quantity of what is equal in Uſe and Goodneſs to ours; whereby we have the greater opportunity to ſupport the Value of what is wrought in it: and yet we find we are not always able to do it. Whereas Hemp and Flax, the Materials for Linnen, being produced in other Countries in greater quantities than they are with us, we cannot have the ſame Advantages by them, in that they are not only produced, but wrought abroad, in Countries where Labour is cheap, and ſo can be ſold cheaper than we can afford them. To pretend therefore to ſet up a Linnen Manufacture with us, where Labour, for Reaſons already urged, is dear, is really to perſwade, or oblige our People to work, only in order to ſtarve. If it be objected, that this Difficulty may eaſily be removed, by impoſing ſuch heavy Duties upon all forein Linnen, as ſhall ſo advance their Prices here, as to make the Importing them impracticable. I do acknowledge the Truth of this Objection; but then muſt anſwer, that this will be a loſs to us, in that it muſt deſtroy that part of our Trade that is with thoſe Countries from whence Linnen is brought; and of conſequence bring ſuch a Diſcouragement upon our Woollen Goods, which are ſold in great quantities in ſuch Countries, as to ruin more

Linnen Manufacture a real Loſs.

Families than our Linnen can ſupport: for when the Importing Linnen, by reaſon of ſuch Duties, is impracticable, the Trade to *Hamburgh, Holland, Flanders,* &c. muſt be loſt; for it is not to be imagin'd that thoſe Countries will buy our *Cloths, Serges, Stuffs,* &c. when we will not receive their Linnens: and the Trade with Countries where Labour is cheap, if they will but receive our Goods at the Value as rated with us, muſt neceſſarily be an Advantage to us, equal to the Difference in the Value between theirs and our Labour. To diſcourage then, by extravagant Duties, ſuch a Trade, muſt be to our Loſs, in that in all equal Exchanges for Goods, we for the ſame Value receive more of their Labours than they do of ours.

Labour dear, our Poor muſt be a burden.

Another Reaſon of the Inſucceſſes of our Projects to employ our Poor, has been the Miſtakes in the very Ground-work of the Deſign: for to pretend to do that, and at the ſame time to make *Labour dear,* by raiſing the Value of our preſent Neceſſaries of Life, is a downright Abſurdity, becauſe nothing but the Cheapneſs of Labour can make the Produce of Labour ſaleable; and if ſuch are not ſaleable, they will not be long wrought. And this we have done (not to repeat what I have already mentioned, of *Prohibitions* from *Ireland, Premiums* for Exportations, *&c.*) by our Diſcouragement upon Husbandry, by the means of our Encloſures, which do continually increaſe upon us; for as by *Iriſh* Prohibitions Fleſh is made dear, ſo by Encloſures the Increaſe of Corn is leſſened: and all this is done to advance our Land;

Encloſures a miſchief to Trade.

Land; when in truth these very Measures, in the End, depress the Value of it, in that they discourage Improvements, as they relate to the Public, and hinder Trade by advancing the Price of Labour. But having already spoke to the first, I shall only pass to the second. It is certain the Proprietor of Land gains by enclosing of it, in that the Value is by that means advanced to him; but the Question is, Whether he does not improve at the Nation's Loss? To take a right Estimate of that, we must consider the different Uses of Land before and after it is enclosed; and by that we may the better judge of the Advantages of either state to the Public. Land that is unenclosed, and lies promiscuously mixed in open Fields, is best befitted, and so most applied to *Tillage*; and that which is separated and enclosed, in *Pasturage*: the first requires the Assistance of more Hands than the last; and for that reason the Profits from the first being divided amongst a greater number of People, become less to the Proprietor: whereas the last being managed by few Hands, the Profits are not so divided, and so more comes to the Proprietor: for the Land by being enclosed is not bettered, but only his Nature of the Profits altered; those parts that the Poor had, whilst in Tillage, now coming into the Proprietor's Pocket, which is the Advantage. By means of the first Corn is increased, by the last Flesh; and both these are used as Necessaries for Mens Subsistence. But the Increase of Corn is of most public Advantage, by reason more People are employed, and may subsist, upon the Corn growing upon equal

equal quantities of Land, than can upon Fleſh nouriſhed or fed upon the ſame; and of conſequence Men may live cheaper upon the former than the latter, and therefore labour cheaper: and not only ſo, but Men are by the firſt more inured to Labour and Induſtry, in that it requires a greater number of hands for the managing it: whereas the laſt wanting but few, adminiſters an occaſion to Sloth and Idleneſs, little Labour being required for the Management of Paſturage: and if the Poor cannot get a Subſiſtence by their own Labour, they muſt become a Charge upon others. And how is it poſſible they ſhould ſupport themſelves, when thus Husbandry is leſſened, and the Prices of our Manufactures ſo advanced, that they are not marketable abroad; (for it is by one or both of theſe ways our Poor are to be employed) for which reaſon the Charge of the Poor muſt neceſſarily increaſe, in that they cannot now maintain themſelves; becauſe they are not employed, neither upon the Land, by reaſon of our Encloſures, nor in Manufactures from the dearneſs of the Neceſſaries of Life; our Laws having raiſed the Value of ſuch things as are in preſent Uſe for Mens Subſiſtence: whereas, to encourage Trade, and employ our People, we ſhould depreſs them.

To increaſe Paſturage, and yet to forbid Iriſh *Cattle, impolitic.*

It ſeems, methinks, a Soleciſm in our Politicks, to admit the multiplying Encloſures, or at leaſt the converting Land ſo much into Paſturage; and yet at the ſame time to hinder the Importing *Iriſh* Cattle, which ſeems to be extremely proper for ſuch Improvements, in that Paſturage plainly requires a greater number of Cattle

Cattle to be fed upon it, and of conſequence a greater Conſumption of Fleſh, or of what is produced from Cattle; for without that, Rents of ſuch Lands are not well to be advanced: and yet our Laws hinder ſuch Conſumptions, in that they keep up the Value of Fleſh, by forbidding the Importation of *Iriſh*; by which, if admitted, the Prices of Fleſh muſt leſſen, and the Conſumption increaſe. However, this is certain, by theſe two Methods, *viz.* by leſſening Tillage, and hindring *Iriſh* Cattle, we leſſen the Increaſe of ſuch things as are in uſe for Neceſſaries of Life, *viz.* Corn by the firſt, and Fleſh by the laſt; and yet do not advance the Rents of Land, by reaſon we do not increaſe the Conſumption of them: for to do that, we ſhould multiply our People, whereas now we rather labour to diminiſh them; becauſe not being able to employ them, they become a burden to us.

To increaſe the Conſumption of Fleſh, and yet make it dear, irrational.

Furthermore, as Paſturage increaſes the Conſumption of Fleſh will, which being made dear (by the Reaſons already aſſigned) the Wages of Labour will alſo riſe, for otherwiſe Men could not ſubſiſt by it, in that ſuch things as are for common Uſe are dear, (as it is certain in fact Wages have done) and of courſe the Charge of the Poor (as being from theſe Reaſons unemployed) muſt continually increaſe, make what Laws we can to prevent it; unleſs theſe Miſtakes are firſt removed: for if by our preſent Meaſures our Poor cannot be employed, as formerly, in Husbandry, and we by advancing the Value of ſuch things as are in uſe for Neceſſaries of Life, render it impracticable

Why the Charges of the Poor muſt increaſe.

to

to be done by Trade, in that our Manufactures are too dear to be Exported; it is plain our Poor muſt be a burden, in that being hindered by theſe Meaſures from providing for themſelves, they muſt be maintained by others. And, for this reaſon, notwithſtanding ſome particular Men may make great Advantages from theſe Laws, yet others muſt loſe, and, as I ſuppoſe, the whole Nation ſuffer, in that the Poor not being now able to maintain themſelves, as being thruſt out of that Profit from the Land, which formerly, when in Tillage, their Labour procured; (the Proprietors having ingroſſed their part, by converting it into Paſturage;) nor not being able to ſupport themſelves in our Manufactures, by reaſon of the dearneſs of ſuch things as are uſed as Neceſſaries of Life, they will be a burden; contrary to what happens in moſt other Countries where ſuch Uſages are not practiſed; for in ſuch, Numbers are ſo far from being a Loſs, that they are the Wealth of thoſe Nations. And I am apprehenſive theſe our Misfortunes will not admit of any Remedy, unleſs we multiply our People; for by that our Conſumptions being increaſed, the Value of Land muſt riſe, and our Methods of Living muſt alter: Our Neceſſities then, would oblige our People to Parſimony, and our Numbers to Induſtry; by which forein Trade would flouriſh, and our Poor thence being able to ſubſiſt by their own Labours in our Manufactures, our Encloſures would be no injury to us: for, as for all other Methods they ſeem unnatural, and have hitherto been ineffectual; and, as I apprehend, will for ever be ſo.

FINIS

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM